

LECTURES  
ON  
BRITISH INDIA,

DELIVERED IN THE FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE,

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND,

IN OCTOBER, 1839,

BY

GEORGE THOMPSON,

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WITH A PREFACE BY

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

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## P R E F A C E.

WHATEVER relates to the rescue of suffering humanity,--the overthrow of oppression,--the extension of christianity,--overleaps all geographical boundaries, swims across all seas and oceans, scales the highest mountains, and embraces mankind. It matters not where the victims of arbitrary power are found pining in hopeless servitude; or in what quarter of the globe the trade in "slaves and souls of men" is prosecuted; or who they are that worship idols which their own hands have made; or how remote or how local is systematic iniquity; or how gigantic or formidable is the evil to be overthrown; or how apparently hopeless are the chances of success. The faith that overcomes the world is disheartened, appalled, conquered by nothing that is in the world. It realizes perpetual victory, though engaged in perpetual conflict. **PHILANTHROPY** and **RELIGION** can occupy no narrower field, in which to exert their powers, than the whole earth; and regard all castes and races of men with equal favor. To them there is no high, no low, no rich, no poor, no white, no black, no foreign, no native, but all stand upon a dead level. Hence their mission is, to make investigations into human misery, that it may be turned into happiness; to discover where darkness broods, that light may be disseminated; to ascertain the strength

and prevalence of tyranny, that its yokes and fetters may be broken ; and where sin abounds, to cause grace much more to abound. It is the spirit of CAIN which says, " Am I my brother's keeper ?" It is the spirit of JESUS which says, " Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature"—which hastens to the relief of him who has fallen among thieves, regardless of his origin, or by what name he is called—which aims to seek and to save that which is lost. If it be true, that he who has not this spirit is not of Christ, then it is certain, that he who feels no living interest in the redemption of the world—who allows prejudice to steel his heart to the cries and sufferings of others—who finds in the remoteness of those who are in a perishing condition, an excuse for giving no countenance to an enterprise which is designed and adapted to rescue them from death—whose compassion and love are hemmed in by geographical limits and national distinctions, or kindled or extinguished according to the complexion and condition of the sufferers—**CANNOT BE A CHRISTIAN.** The same mind is not in him that was in the Master whom he professes to serve. If he loves not those whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen ? And, in seeing any portion of mankind, he has seen them all ; for God " hath made of one blood all nations of men," and " in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, male nor female, but **ALL** are **ONE.**" Judging by this infallible standard, it follows, that a very large majority of those who profess to have put on Christ, in this country, are either religious impostors, or wofully self-de-

ceived. In either openly justifying or conniving at the enslavement of millions of our colored inhabitants—in seeking, on false pretences, the banishment of those who are nominally free—in treating them as an inferior race, and making their complexion the ground of personal hatred and contempt—in opposing the immediate abolition of slavery, the most comprehensive system of cruelty and wickedness that exists on earth—in reviling, defaming, persecuting the advocates of liberty and humanity—they have clearly shown, before heaven and the world, that **THEY ARE NOT CHRISTIANS.** They may, and do, tithe mint, cummin and rue ; but they omit the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy and faith. They are, the scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, of the nineteenth century.

Such persons will not feel any interest in the noble efforts which are making, by the philanthropists of England, to raise up British India from degradation and heathenism. They feel none in the great reformation which is going on in this country, for the emancipation of nearly three millions of their own countrymen from chains and slavery—and how can it be expected that they will have any bowels of mercy for the down trodden, perishing natives of India.

Nevertheless, there are in these United States, a large, a growing multitude, who, in some measure, at least, “remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,” and are laudably exerting themselves, in all christian labors and sacrifices, to abolish all forms of tyranny, in this country, throughout the globe, immediately and forever. To all

such, this volume is respectfully dedicated. They will hail its publication with gladness and gratitude. The vast amount of information contained in its pages—the shocking and almost incredible revelations which are made, respecting the actual condition of the natives of British India the eloquent and resistless appeals of Mr. THOMPSON—to the consciences and hearts of the British people—the obvious effect which the enfranchisement of the laborers of India must have upon the horrid slave system of America, hastening its downfall by a sure and summary process, without the shedding of blood, or any violence whatever—these will serve to augment the capital stock of American philanthropy, and supply American abolitionists with new motives to exertion, new arguments in favor of the speedy abolition of slavery, new weapons with which to contend against the enemies of the rights of man. Mr. THOMPSON is not extravagant, is scarcely enthusiastic, when he says—"The battle-ground of freedom for the world is on the plains of Hindostan." Yea—and the battle ground of CHRISTIANITY for the world is in the same hemisphere. For, once let justice be done to India—let her laborers be fairly compensated for their toil—let them have a heart-sustaining interest in the products of her soil—let the iron grasp of governmental rapacity upon them be relaxed—let freedom and civilization be permitted, yea encouraged, to go hand-in-hand among them, raising them up to self-respect, from beastly degradation to their proper rank among mankind—giving them new incentives to labor, and to make their wonderfully productive soil bring forth yet more abundantly—and the final blow

to the existence of African slavery, in all countries, will have been struck, and the dawn of universal emancipation ushered in, to the joy of the whole earth. Then will have ceased the unutterable woes, the nameless horrors of the African slave trade—a trade which has not yet been even crippled by all the legislation of *republican* America and *civilized* Europe, though it has been legally branded as piracy, and in despite of all the naval vigilance of the colossal power of Great Britain—a trade which can never be abolished, until the cause of it, *the market, SLAVERY*, is first annihilated. Then will have been extinguished, in Africa, the flames of her burning villages, and ended all her lamentations for her stolen children. Then, too, will christianity have obtained complete mastery over the powers of Paganism, and over every empire of darkness ; and soon will be heard the annunciation, not as a matter of prophecy, but of fulfilment —“The kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever.” Every christian heart must respond, “Even so, Lord Jesus ; come quickly !”

Insignificant as they are, and almost lost, among the vast population of the globe, (numerically speaking,) it comes within the means, the resources, the ability of the people of Great Britain to accomplish this sublime achievement. This is the opportunity, as well as the power. How tremendous, then, are their responsibilities ! In the spirit of conquest, they have subjugated a large portion of India, as well as many other parts of the earth. In wresting by violence so much of its territory, and making

tributary such multitudes of its inhabitants, they have made themselves accountable for the misery and oppression which prevail in that quarter of the globe. "To whom much is given"—whether as a free gift, by permission, or by conquest—"of them much shall be required." Will the people of Great Britain awake to a sense of their dread accountability? They must either make an utter surrendry of their East India possessions, or faithfully discharge every obligation which rests upon them, arising out of such possessions; or else expect to be visited with judgments and plagues by the Lord Almighty! Thanks be to God, we have cheering evidence that they are beginning to see, and feel, and act, as philanthropists and christians on this subject. The reason why they have slumbered so long is because they have been kept in profound ignorance of the misdeeds of their government toward India. To redress her wrongs, all that they need is light; and the light is beginning to shine, and every abomination shall be made manifest in it—and a glorious redemption shall be wrought out speedily! Of this there can scarcely be a doubt; for the same spirit is awakened in behalf of that ill-fated country, that procured the abolition of West India slavery—the same people are alive to the distress of the famished East Indian, that sympathized with the perishing negro, and effected his emancipation at costly sacrifices. It is only for them to lift up their voice in the ear of Parliament, with even much less potency than it was uttered in the case of negro slavery, and a glorious jubilee will speedily be proclaimed for benighted and manacled India.

The efforts and designs of the "British India Society," of which Mr. THOMPSON is the accredited representative, should excite very special attention in this country, especially in the slave-holding states. It aims not only to benefit the natives of India, but also the slaves of America, by putting an end to the cotton trade between Great Britain and the United States. Why should it not succeed? It cannot be possible that the British Parliament will hesitate to act, promptly and effectually, in view of the immense advantages to be gained by a compliance with the demands of British philanthropy. For nothing can be clearer, than that "political justice to India, is commercial justice to England;" that "the prosperity of India and the prosperity of England are one and indivisible;" that "the day that witnesses India well governed, her people happy, her agriculturists well employed, the fruits of her soil reaped, her vast resources developed, that day beholds England on the proudest summit of her greatness as a manufacturing and commercial nation." These facts cannot fail deeply to impress the British mind. If England can raise her own cotton in India at the paltry rate of a penny a pound, what inducement can she have to obtain her supply of a rival nation, at a rate six or eight times higher? It is stated that East India free labor costs 3d. a day—African slave labor 2s.; that upwards of 800,000 bales of cotton are exported from this country annually to England; and that the cotton trade of the United States with England amounts to the enormous sum of forty millions of dollars annually. Let that market be closed to this slave-holding republic, and its slave-sys-

tem must inevitably perish from starvation ! It is even now, with all the patronage which Europe extends to it, going down to irretrievable bankruptcy. What will become of it, when that patronage shall have been withdrawn ? Not only, therefore, does humanity call for its immediate abolition, but self-interest, and by a voluntary act of the planters. Let the slaves of the south be turned from chattels personal into free laborers, and we shall have nothing to fear from the competition of British India ; for, though the wages of such laborers would be higher than those of the natives of India, in every thing else we should enjoy a decided advantage. To persevere in our oppression in view of facts like these, is to make up our minds that we will destroy ourselves, " and that without remedy."

It is wonderful to observe the zeal and devotedness with which Mr. THOMPSON is prosecuting this new enterprise of mercy. For a series of years, he labored in the cause of bleeding Africa with unequalled assiduity and success. His toils, his sufferings, his trials, his perils, in that cause, no pencil can fully portray. What he endured in this country, while generously consecrating his time and talents, and courageously hazarding his life, to bring it to repentance that it might not be visited by the judgments of heaven, is too well and too widely known for our reputation as a people. It is a record of infamy which the effacing fingers of time shall not be able to destroy. But God makes the wrath of man to praise him ; and never was his providence more signally displayed, than in allowing our brutality so far to rage against this great philan-

thropist, as to drive him from the country. His return to England was indispensable to the emancipation of eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British colonies. Having been the great instrument in effecting their liberation, instead of seeking repose, (so desirable, above all things, after such exhausting labors,) he immediately turned his attention to British India, and consecrated himself with new energy to the cause of bleeding humanity. It is to be feared that he will find a premature grave, unless he slacken his efforts, and lecture less frequently. He seems to have adopted the language of WILBERFORCE :— “ In my task it is impossible to tire : it fills my mind with complacency and peace. At night I lie down with composure and rise to it in the morning with alacrity. I never will desist from this blessed work.”

Onward, thou friend of God and man ! And peradventure it may strengthen and encourage thee to learn how the object thou hast in view, and the society of which thou art the representative, are regarded by the earliest and best friends of negro emancipation in the United States. The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the eighth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston on the 22d ultimo :

“ Resolved, That as the cause of humanity appertains exclusively to no country or people, but overleaps all geographical and national boundaries, this Society feels the deepest interest in the formation of the British India Society, in Great Britain, for the emancipation and general improvement of the one hundred and fifty millions of the human family in India, so long and so cruelly oppressed,

—and regards it as one of the grandest moral enterprises of the age, the success of which cannot fail greatly to aid in the overthrow of American slavery:—That in his advocacy of this great, humane and glorious enterprise, this Society would cheer GEORGE THOMPSON, the friend of every people and clime, ‘onward—right onward;’ assuring him that our interest in his welfare and labors is increasing in intensity,—that we regard him as still laboring, most efficiently and faithfully, for the extinction of *republican* slavery in striving to ‘bring to a perpetual end’ *British tyranny in India*—and that the important services he rendered to the cause of bleeding humanity, in this country, will long be remembered by a grateful posterity.”

In approval of the above resolution, there is no doubt that the abolitionists of America generally unite.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, Feb. 6, 1840.

# LECTURES ON BRITISH INDIA.

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## FIRST LECTURE.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON delivered the first of a series of lectures on the present state of British India, the condition of the natives, and the connection between the improvement of our Eastern Empire, and the prosperity of Great Britain, on Wednesday evening, Sept. 25th, in the Friends' Meeting-house, Mount-street, to a numerous and highly respectable audience. At about half-past six o'clock the lecturer entered the house, and was received with strong demonstrations of approbation.

MR. THOMPSON, in addressing the audience, said—  
Ladies and gentlemen, my object in appearing before you to-night is to deliver the first of a series of lectures on the subject of British India. These, so far as I am able to see through the subject which I have undertaken to discuss, will embrace—the present state of our possessions in the East, the actual condition of our fellow subjects in that quarter of the globe, amounting to one hundred millions, and the claims of this immense multitude of human beings upon our compassion and justice. Also a brief sketch of the history and present character of the British government in India; the actual state of commerce with the East, contrasted with the capacity of the soil, the variety of its productions, and the wants of its population. Also the principles which have guided our conduct towards India, compared with those principles on which we have carried on our intercourse with other parts of the world; the natural ability of India to furnish to this dis-

trict a regular and sufficient supply of that raw material, which lies at the very foundation of the ingenuity, the industry, and the wealth for which this district is so highly distinguished : (I refer, as you will readily understand, to cotton) — the hindrances which at present stand in the way of an extensive cultivation of a superior quality of cotton in India, and the means by which those hindrances may be removed ; the practicability and unexceptionable character of those means ; the connection between the improvement of the physical, moral and political condition of the natives of India, and the augmentation to an indefinite extent, of our greatness and prosperity as a trading and manufacturing nation ; the influence of a better system upon the political aspect and future destiny of India ; the certain effect of a just course towards India, upon the systems of monopoly, oppression and slavery, which have obtained in other parts of the world ; and the solemn duty which rests upon this nation and the individuals who compose it, to ascertain and fulfil the obligations which they owe to one hundred millions of the human race, and to those regions of the globe, whose happiness or misery is interwoven with the fate of our conquered fellow-subjects in the East. Most truly has this question been termed, in one of your own journals, "a high-sto themer ; I see, I feel it to be so." Again and again have I paused upon the threshold of my arduous task ; and most gladly would I now recede, if I could resign my work into the hands of some one of the multitude of my more gifted and influential countrymen, if one would step forward and espouse it, under the guidance and dominion of those views and feelings which I deem necessary to actuate, and sustain the mind, and lead the individual who undertakes such a task as that upon which I am entering, to a happy and successful issue. Before I proceed further, let me with all possible frankness, avow the character in which I stand before you to-night. I am not ignorant that the subject we are now to consider, has varied

and complicated features, and is capable of calling forth the expression of widely different opinions on matters connected with the social, religious, and political condition of mankind. I deem it therefore expedient, as I deem it honorable, to remove all uncertainty respecting the objects I have in view, the motives by which I am actuated, and the principles which I hold on those great questions, which are regarded as of vital importance in the places they respectively occupy in the minds of this community. I, therefore, without equivocation, without reservation, declare, that I am the agent, the representative, the mouth-piece, the organ, of no party in politics, or in religion, or in trade ; that my object is to better the condition of the now wretched and helpless subjects of the British government in Hindostan ; and to achieve, through their elevation, the good of other races, which, in my opinion, are to be reached in their debasement and misery, principally, if not exclusively, by the operation of principles whose mighty working must be commenced in that glorious region of the uprising sun, which Divine Providence at present, in the accomplishment of his inscrutable designs, permits us to rule over and sway. I believe, however, that the re-action of our benevolence would be most blessed, and that every Hindoo and Musulman we rescue from famine, and raise from penury, will be a laborer in an exhaustless mine of wealth, that will unceasingly pour its riches into our laps, and raise us in our turn, from circumstances of abject dependence, without an alternative, to circumstances of freedom, with the opportunity of choosing among the products of the earth, and of encouraging that industry which is the most honorable and most unconstrained, and the fruits of which will always be found the cheapest and the best. While, therefore, my heart's desire and prayer is, that the time may speedily come, when every fibre of cotton wool woven or worn by the people of this country, may be the produce of free labor, (applause.) I ask, because, thanks

to the irreversible laws which govern the transactions of the social state, none are needed as a remedy — I ask for no restrictions, no regulations, no prohibitory duties, barring out from our ports the produce of any part of the globe of any kind, whether it be cotton to cover the naked, or corn to feed the hungry. (Loud applause.) I ask only for liberty, justice and impartiality ; convinced that if these be conceded and acted upon, every system based upon monopoly, and worked out by slavery, will totter to its everlasting fall. (Applause.)

Again, with reference to our dominion in the East ; I desire the continuance of our sway ; believing that we have it in our power, and hoping that we shall soon esteem it our privilege to bestow upon our Asiatic empire, so long and so criminally neglected, incalculable blessings of the richest kind. But I wish to see our dominion secured and perpetuated by the administration of a paternal government ; fostering intellect, encouraging agriculture, improving the face of the country, respecting the rights of the natives, regarding virtue and eligibility, and not complexion, as qualifications for office — (applause) — a government ruling through the kindlier affections, not the fears of the natives ; upheld by the spontaneous allegiance of millions of hearts, and not by the dazzling array of two hundred thousand bayonets. (Applause.)

Again, I desire most sincerely, as who does not ? the propagation of that religion of peace and prosperity, which constitutes at once the brightest glory and the surest defence of our native land ; but I would not have it spread by coercion ; I would not have it retarded in its progress by the inconsistencies of its professors ; I would not have it sullied and contradicted by acts of injustice and cruelty, and by systems of wholesale oppression and wrong. — Above all, I would not that a disgraceful connection should continue, between a government nominally christian, and the idolatrous pageantries and pilgrimages of the people we govern. (Applause.) I would not see the plume of a British soldier waving amid the sanguinary

fortification of Juggernaut, nor a solitary ripely, the fruits of an idolatrous worship, put into the treasury of a christian state." (Loud applause) I would have our government continue as it might by the consent of the people; I would have our government founded as it ought to be, on righteousness and truth; I would have our faith—our holy, our religious faith—diffused and extended by holy men and holy lives, and recommended by the weakness and the mercy, the justice and the benevolence of those who possess it. (Applause) The greatest obstacle in the march of christianity upon the coral strand of India, is the palpable contradiction given to the truths of christianity in the lives of those who have been baptized into its name. Let these obstacles be removed, and then we may, without reproach, and without despondency, take up the language of poesy and prayer, and say—

O haste your tardy coming, days of gold,  
Long by prophetic minstrelsy foretold!

Where you bright purple streaks the orient skies,

Rise science, freedom, peace, religion rise!

Till from Tanjore to farthest Samarcand,

In one wide lustre, bask the glowing land,

And Bramah from his guilty greatness hurl'd;

(With Medea's Lord,) Messiah rule the world!

I think I need say nothing farther in reference to the great views I cherish upon this question, whether of political economy, or civil government or religion, however dear or near to the hearts of those who are around me. A farther confession of faith there is not a man, a woman, in this company of christians to-night would extort from my lips.

I stand before you, the representative of the British India Society, a society which has its origin in a benevolent regard for the natives of India; a society embracing men of all parties, and founded upon a basis which it is earnestly hoped, will permanently exclude the adoption of party, of sectarian, or of mercenary views. The individuals who form this association, believe that the present

indifference to the affairs of India, is owing to the want of accurate and comprehensive information, and they have therefore determined to employ all the means in their power to diffuse knowledge upon a subject thus involved in ignorance. They have already a large body of facts which, according to opportunity, they will digest and prepare for publication, and spread before the community. Their desire and their aim are, to fix the eyes of the entire nation upon the extent, the population, the resources, the condition, and the claims of British India; and to demonstrate that, however varied the interests, and pursuits, and benevolent plans of men may be, there is an illimitable field presented for the prosecution of the one, and the accomplishment of the other. They therefore make their appeal with confidence to every class of their fellow-christians. (Applause.) I, for example, lecture to-night on behalf of British Indis. I declare the design, the only object of that society to be, to promote the welfare of the natives of India. I avow that we are neither a commercial society, a religious society — that is, having no exclusively religious object — still less a political society; but a society for diffusing information, and organizing and directing public feeling and intellect, with a view to the advancement of the true welfare, in all respects, of the natives of India. But knowing that a variety of means must be employed, and that we can only work out our object through the awakened zeal and energy of the entire British people, and knowing that the mass is made up of different classes, I proceed to urge such motives as I deem most likely to operate upon those classes respectively, and ultimately to animate them to a combined and general action. Some of those motives are drawn from a consideration of reciprocal interest; others from considerations of responsibility and duty; others from the connection between this cause and those already espoused and in course of prosecution. Now, should I conclude this lecture by proposing a peti-

tion to Parliament to remove some great hindrance to the happiness and welfare of the people of India having previously shown that the prosperity of the people of India is intimately and inseparably connected with the prosperity of the people of this country, I might consistently call upon all to sign it. Some might do so on anti-slavery grounds, for I shall develope the anti-slavery aspect of this question : some on commercial grounds, for I shall dwell upon these ; some from feelings of compassion and sympathy ; and some that they might remove, if possible, the reproach cast upon christianity, by the oppressions of persons ruling among an idolatrous people. Thus, my object would be so far gained ; and gained, I think, without the slightest compromise of those great principles, which bind us, as a society, to use none but peaceful and constitutional means, and to be ourselves far above the influence of all political, all sectarian, and all mercenary views. (Applause.)

I have deemed it necessary to say so much respecting the plans and the views of the society which I this night have the privilege to represent. I now proceed to draw your attention to the field of our philanthropic enterprise. India, British India ! so often the theme of poetic visions and romantic dreams. (Hear.) I come not, however, to speak the language of a vaporizing sentimentalism ; I come not to talk of balmy skies, voluptuous gales, of golden dews, of plains of Paradise, of amaranthine bowers, and floods of living light ; I come to speak the language of truth and soberness, to set forth the wretchedness and the wants, and the solemn and sacred claims of a population embracing nearly one-sixth part of the whole human race. In doing this, I shall place before you no picture sketched by my own fancy, but the scenes described with stern truth, by men who have had the largest possible opportunities of knowing India. My part is not that of a witness, to bear testimony to that which I have seen, but rather the part of the historian to bring out and arrange the evidence that is placed before me — not however, to make

out a case — not to disparage a party for the sake of accomplishing an end, but to elicit truth and to obtain justice. (Applause.)

Let me remind those who hear me, that the sceptre of this little island is the sceptre of the peninsula of India; that our maiden monarch rules over a country stretching from the bay of Bengal to the great sandy desert; from Cape Comorin to the Hymalaya Mountains, and from the Gulph of Cutch to the borders of China. Three quarters of a century ago, a few forts, erected on the coast for the protection of our commerce, were all we could boast of in India; now, we are the masters of five hundred thousand square miles of territory, exert a direct dominion over one hundred millions of the human race, and a paramount influence over one hundred and fifty millions. The British Governor-General at Calcutta now sways the sceptre of the Great Mogul. Surely, sirs, it would be interesting, it would be proper, if we had time, to trace the march of British conquest in the east, and follow our merchants from their lowly pursuits on the coast of Cor-mandel to the summit of their princely power, dictating terms to the hereditary occupants of oriental thrones. — It is, however, with the present state of India that we have to do.

The government of India, as you are aware, is in the hands of a chartered company, well known by the name of the East India Company. Until 1834, the directors and proprietors of the East India Company were not only sovereigns, ruling India, but merchants trading to India; merchant monarchs, enjoying certain exclusive privileges and monopolies. Five years ago, however, through your exertions among those of others, they were deprived of their trade, but were left the joint-stock kings and queens of India. I say queens, because ladies are stock-holders as well as gentlemen, are eligible to sit in the court of proprietors as well as gentlemen — and many ladies are, in trust, the legal rulers of British India. It is extremely

proper, therefore, that I should address the ladies upon this occasion ; there may be ladies here, for nught I know, with proxies in their pockets, who, within the last few days may have been voting for Colonel this, and Captain that, and Major the other, for the court of directors ; and I would that every individual of every political party, and every religious profession, every ecclesiastic and every layman, did but feel the responsibility imposed upon him to give his proxy, to employ his vote, to raise his voice, to legislate in the British parliament, with a single eye to the exaltation of the name of Him who is King of kings, and the happiness of a hundred millions of rational and immortal beings. (Loud applause.) I say those ladies and gentlemen were once merchant princes and merchant princesses ; but they are now only rulers and kings and queens. The government of India is theirs ; the revenue of India is theirs ; but the trade to India is opened to the enterprise of our countrymen at large. A single sentence is necessary, and may also be sufficient to connect the past history of the East India Company with their present character and functions. Hereafter, should this subject excite, as I trust it may, a hearty interest in the minds of the people of this town, and I have no reason to despond, when I look upon this assembly, and recollect that in one part of the town a learned Doctor is lecturing on the Corn Laws — (applause) — that in another a scientific gentleman is making a solidification of carbonic acid gas ; that in a third place there is a learned Jew preaching to the gentiles ; and that there is your Mechanics' bazaar and your concerts — I say I am perfectly content with my share of the respectability and intellect and beauty of this town, and I augur, that, if Providence permits me to remain here, and again and again to summon the attention of the Christian, commercial, and philanthropic public to another and another discussion of the claims of this mighty empire upon your compassion, your sympathy, and your sense of justice, will a-

gain and again come forth, until at last Manchester as one man shall cry " Justice to India," and we shall hear a voice coming from every busy mill, from every piled up wagon, from every pale-faced factory child, — " if you would gain liberty to the slave, if you would raise your home-born population, do justice to India. (Applause.)

I said a word might be necessary respecting the history of the East India Company. This then is the concisest view of its history that I can take. In 1599, two hundred and forty years ago, an association was formed in London, for prosecuting the trade to India, and in 1600 a company was incorporated, under the name of the governor and company of merchants trading to the East Indies. In 1698 a rival company was formed, which was united to the original one in 1702. Till the year 1750 the company possessed no territorial footing in India, save a small part of the country at Madras. They merely occupied factories at the different ports to which they traded. In 1756 the company acquired considerable territory in the neighborhood of Calcutta, and so, continued to augment their acquisitions, till they have reached the dimensions I have stated, embracing an empire whose sea coast line is 3,622 English miles, with a territorial breadth of 1,260 miles. In the year 1784, after the celebrated discussion of Mr. Fox's bill, and after the delivery of those master-pieces of eloquence which have immortalised the name of Edmund Burke, as they have consigned to infamy, the names of those so conspicuous for crime, and who were gibbeted to the execration of the world in those undying efforts of genius — in 1784, after the discussion of Mr. Fox's India bill, though it was lost, it was thought that a Board of Control should be established to overlook, and supersede, if necessary, the East India Company in their government of India ; and accordingly a Board of Control was established, the president of which is a cabinet minister, and is assisted by paid commissioners. Now, all matters affecting great questions in India, are submitted to the hands of a secret committee,

the members of which, chosen from the directors of the East India Company, are sworn to keep within their own bosoms the knowledge of the transactions in which they are engaged. Three persons constitute the secret committee, and all dispatches upon important subjects emanate from that committee; and they are sworn not to divulge, even to the persons who sit next them at the board-table, the contents of those dispatches sent out to India. In the government of India there are so many things that require to be concealed, that this is the busiest committee in the whole of that establishment. However, the fact that three men sitting in secret council in Leadenhall-street, who have never been in India, the one perhaps a banker, the other a soap-boiler, and the third a retired China captain,—that these three men can, by the stroke of a pen, affect for good or evil the destinies of countless millions, furnishes matter for grave consideration; and we ought to ask ourselves, for India is ours, as I can show you by act of parliament (and these men do but govern in trust,) we ought, I repeat it, to put it to our consciences,—“Are we at liberty to consent that three men, invested with unlimited discretion, should be allowed to rule the destinies, at least for this world, and perhaps for the next, of more than a hundred millions of human beings?” (Hear & and applause.) In 1813 the trade, which to that time had been exclusively monopolised by the company, was opened on certain conditions to the public, the company continuing to enjoy the exclusive monopoly of the trade to China. That exclusive trade to China was, however, abolished in 1834; and in 1837 there was a partial equalization of the duties on East and West India produce; and in this house, and amidst audiences certainly as large as this, I have taken occasion to expose and to denounce the injustice done to our Eastern dominions by the bounties and drawbacks, and protecting duties, that were established in favor of our West India colonies. When I come to speak of trade I shall show the

effects which have followed from the adoption of these successive liberal measures. (Cheers.)

A word now with regard to the present revenue of India. The revenue raised by the East India Company is about twenty millions of pounds sterling. About eleven millions of this is raised by a direct tax upon the land ; about £2,500,000 by the salt monopoly — that is to say, the cultivation, the manufacture, and the sale of salt, is an exclusive monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. The people of India are a rice fed population, and salt is an essential ingredient in their food. Without salt they become diseased ; it is necessary to correct the influence of an almost exclusively vegetable diet. Nature — the god of nature, seems to have provided for this want in a manner at once the most beautiful and bountiful. — Every part of India, washed by the ocean at the spring tides, is covered with a beautiful description of salt. The sea water is evaporated under the solar heat, and there is left behind a perfect and pure chrystal ; and were there no hindrance, were there no human invention, were there no monopoly, the Hindoo would but have to walk from his hut to the sea-shore, and there gather up enough and to spare, of this most necessary article of human subsistence. What does the Company ? It makes the offence of walking to the sea-shore to pick up a grain of this salt — a crime punishable by the infliction of a fine of five hundred rupees or three month's imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the magistrate. (Disapprobation.) — Now, this mode of getting salt is called the cultivation of salt. It is a natural produce. There is another mode of making salt in another part of the country, by boiling salt water ; a process which is familiar to those who now hear me, and is in extensive operation in an adjacent county. But in India, the manufacture, and the sale of salt is an extensive monopoly ; and the Company employ a very extensive preventive service to guard against smuggling, to destroy the salt that the ocean leaves at the door

of the Hindoo ; and the government also prescribes to a lb. what the inhabitants of the country shall consume ; and they can constrain them to buy that amount which they specify, though they may go beyond it as far as they please ; and the very last code prescribes as the penalty for infracting any tittle of the law, £50 sterling, or imprisonment for three months, or both at the discretion of the judge — (disapprobation.) A million and a half was raised — I am thankful to say *was* raised — by the cultivation of that pernicious plant the poppy. (Applause.) — And here again a system as grievous as could be imagined was practised. The very best parts of India were selected for the cultivation of the poppy. The people were told that they must either cultivate this plant make, opium, or give up their land. If they refused they were peremptorily told they must yield or quit. The same Company that forced them to grow opium, said you must sell the opium to us ; and to them it was sold, and they gave the price they pleased to put upon the opium thus manufactured ; and they then sold it to trading speculators at Calcutta, who caused it to be smuggled up the Canton river to an island called Lin-tin, and tea was received in exchange. At last, however, the Emperor of China, after repeated threats, proceeded to execute summary justice ; he seized every particle of opium ; put under bond every European engaged in the merchandise of it, and the papers of to-day inform us that he has cut off the China trade root and branch. A million and more was obtained by the opium trade ; the Custom-house duties, the post-office, tribute, &c. produce say five millions more, making together £20,000,000. — Now for the other side of the account. Of the £20,000,-000 thus raised, £9,000,000, or nearly, are demanded by the exigencies of the army. The collection of the revenue costs more than £4,000,000 ; and then the civil and political establishments, and those for the administration of justice, may take about £3,000,000 more, and then

nearly £2,000,000 more are required to pay interest upon money that has been borrowed ; and then a million more is necessary for pensions, assignments, and allowances in India ; then £2,000,000 must come to this country to divide dividends and pay numerous salaried servants, besides other expenses on this side of the water. Thus the £20,000,000 are got rid of.

I proceed now to say a word respecting the natural features of India. Of these it is impossible to speak except in terms of the highest admiration. India presents every variety of scenery ; majestic rivers, innumerable streams, salt lakes in abundance, mineral springs, every kind of landscape, embracing the soft, the mild, the imposing, and the grand ; majestic forests, impenetrable jungles, and fertile vallies ; extended plains, and ranges of the steepest mountains ; and, overlooking all, the sublime and snow-crowned Hymalayas, raising their peaks upwards of 25,000 feet above the sea, and exhibiting on their sides villages, fields, flocks, and herds, elevated to the height of three miles, above the waves which dash upon the shores. Besides these, there are innumerable isthmuses, islands, and deltas, all fitted for peculiarly valuable purposes. Then, of the riches of this country, what shall we say ? They are as exhaustless as they are valuable, and as varied as they are vast. Iron, copper, lead, antimony, zinc, sulphur, silver, gold : and besides these, there are immense fields of coal in various parts of the country. Then, among the vegetable productions, there are cotton, sugar, indigo, rice, tea, tobacco, opium, if you like opium, india-rubber, coffee, cinnamon, pepper, cassia, galls, ginger, senna, grains of all kinds, gums of all kinds, raw silk, oils, of various descriptions, tanning materials, woods of almost every kind ; 500 specimens of which were some time ago submitted by the East India Company to the London Society of Arts, and I have here classifications of the species. Of the fruits and flowers of India, I have not time to speak, neither of its Zoology. Information

respecting these matters can be obtained without difficulty. Great numbers who hear me are no doubt familiar with the romantic features and the wild scenery of India, who have never paused to contrast the richness and fertility, and boundless resources of the country, with the actual condition of the people inhabiting this country. (Loud applause.) But on other occasions I shall have time more fully to particularise some of the articles I have referred to, and show their connection with the commerce and the manufactures of this country. Before I quit this part of the subject, before I proceed to speak of the dwellers in this gorgeous land, or of the rulers of this land, or of the trading intercourse which we carry on, or might carry on with this land, I ask you to look once more at India. Look at India with a soil of infinite variety, and almost unequalled productiveness, yielding three crops, and sometimes four crops in the course of the year; mighty rivers and innumerable streams intersecting the country in all directions; a land of gold and spices, and gums and grains; where the hunter and the hawker, the fowler and the fisher, the farmer and the shepherd, may all find ample employment; a land abounding with almost every living being, from the lizard basking in the sun, to the solemn and stupendous elephant reposing in the shade; the garden, the granary, the Golconda of the world. I want you to bear these things in mind, for I shall have, hereafter, to show you, that this, the most splendid and fertile land on which the sun shines in his circuit, is a land where the deepest poverty reigns, and where, during eight months, and that within the last two years, five hundred thousand human beings died of hunger. (Great emotion.) I want you to bear these things in mind. I have not been speaking the language of poetry; I have but faintly, feebly sketched the greatness, the glory, of this rich yet wretched country.

Having glanced at this country, I ask your attention for a few moments to the character of its inhabitants;

and this I deem the more important to dwell upon on this occasion, as a controversy has been going on in the public papers between two distinguished persons, the one a right Rev. prelate,\* and the other a well known philanthropist, † who has deservedly obtained the esteem and affection of the people of British India. You will readily understand the necessity, when speaking of a country as large as all Europe, Russia only excepted, — you will readily understand the necessity of discriminating between the character of those who dwell in different parts. A great diversity exists in respect of character, color, language, manners and religion. Some are bold and warlike; others are timid and peaceful. Some are of a bright olive complexion, with Roman noses, dark eyes and hair, and others of an Ethiopian appearance. Some are graceful and polished in their language, others use a barbarous jargon. Some are believers in one pure, undivided intelligence; while others are sunk in the grossest idolatry. — Many, I would be inclined to say the majority, are hospitable, generous, and confiding; while others, it must be admitted, are treacherous, cruel, and distressful. — Very opposite accounts have been given of the moral character of the natives of India, and I have no doubt with equal sincerity. It has recently been asserted by the distinguished prelate before alluded to, that the people of India, taken as a whole, are destitute of all sense of honor, probity and truth. Now, as I think I am not mistaken when I say that, it is desirable, when pleading for any individual or individuals, to place his or their character in as inviting, at all events in as just a light as truth will allow, I shall venture to adduce a few testimonies in favor of the inhabitants of India, particularly the Hindoos, who constitute, as you know, the great bulk of the population, and against whom the gravest charges have from time to time been brought.

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\* The Bishop of London. † Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.

Amongst the almost endless tribes and casts in India, there are to be found some of the lowest and most debased of the human family. Dr. Spry, who has recently written two volumes entitled *Modern India*, has informed us that there are living within 150 miles of Calcutta a race of individuals — their amount is not correctly ascertained — who are cannibals, in appearance the most repulsive, in their manners wild and ferocious, speaking a dialect peculiar to themselves, and building their villages in the boughs of forest trees. It is believed, also, that there is another race of cannibals called Goonds, inhabiting the hill forests of Nagpore. You have all, I dare say, heard of the Thugs, a confederacy of murderers, held together by mystic rights, following their horrid trade as a religious duty. We have accounts of another and similar gang traversing another portion of the country, whose history and operations are at this moment the subject of a rigid investigation on the part of the government of India. You have also heard of the idolatrous worship of the country, so that I need not harrow up your feelings with a relation of the scenes of Juggernaut, the burning of widows and the neglect and desertion of children by their parents. We have in this day's paper an account of the death of Runjeet Singh, a celebrated chief in India, and the destruction upon the funeral pyre of four princesses, his wives, and seven slaves. I disguise none of these facts. No; on a proper occasion would be the first to bring them forward, and make them the ground-work of an urgent appeal to the compassion and christian zeal of this community. On this occasion it is not my purpose to fix your attention upon the all but extinct tribes of Aborigines, or upon the dreadful deeds of men who follow the trade of Thuggee or Dacoity, many of whom were before peaceful and happy villagers, but have been torn from their paternal homes by the hands of ruthless oppressors, and those oppressors too bearing the sacred name of christianity; nor upon the phrenzied acts of men and women

led to propitiate incensed imaginary patrons and deities by the most barbarous sacrifices, and the most painful pilgrimages. Neither do I wish you to judge of the population of India by the specimens that are found in the immediate precincts of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, or in the immediate neighborhood of any of the great civil and military stations ; for what say those who are best able to judge of the contact between the natives and the Europeans ? And while I make a quotation or two, you will blush for your countrymen who have succeeded in making men whom they had previously described as absolutely immoral, still worse by their example and treatment.— Sirs, I have here the authority of a distinguished individual now in this country, the Right Hon. Holt M'Kenzie, formerly a judge in India. What does he say is the effect of the contact of the natives with the Europeans ? Speaking of particular parts of India, viz., the Ceded districts, he says—

“ The longer we have had these districts, the more apparently do lying and litigation prevail ; the more are morals vitiated, the more are rights involved in doubt ; the more are the foundations of society shaken.”

What does another gentleman say, Captain Westmacott, who has traversed the country from one end to the other ? Speaking of the influence of our contact with the natives, he says : —

“ It is greatly to be deplored, that in places the longest under our rule, there is the largest amount of depravity and crime. My travels in India have fallen little short of 8,000 miles, and extended to nearly all the cities of importance in Northern, Western, and Central India. I have no hesitation in affirming, that in the Hindoo and Mussulman cities, removed from European intercourse, there is much less depravity than either in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, where Europeans chiefly congregate.”

And what says Mr. Shore ? This gentleman filled suc-

cessively the situation of collector of the revenue, judge, and then of political commissioner, one of the highest situations a man can fill apart from the governorship? What says the Hon. Mr. Shore? —

"Drunkenness, and the use of intoxicating drugs, have increased in an extraordinary degree under the English rule. I have heard many men declare that thirty or forty years ago, even in Calcutta, a drunken native was a perfect rarity. Now, they may be seen in numbers, lying drunk about the streets of that city, and, more or less, in every town in the interior, and not unfrequently in the villages also. What is the cause of this? Simply that, in order to raise the revenue, almost every collector is trying to increase the number of his liquor, spirit and drug-shops; to establish them in every hole and corner of his district, and to promote drunkenness to the utmost; often giving, underhand, summary and illegal assistance to the proprietors of shops to enable them to recover money for liquor sold upon credit. And for this, provided the revenue increase, they receive the approbation of Government; nay, I once knew a collector who retained at the head of his department a man who had, when a public officer, not long before, embezzled a considerable sum of money and absconded, who was notoriously guilty of forgery, although from the inefficiency of the judge he escaped conviction, solely because he was a good hand at promoting drunkenness, and thereby producing an increase of the revenue. In contrast, I will mention the conduct of a native chief, related to me by an old gentleman who came to India more than sixty years ago. — Shortly after his arrival, on being sent to reside at Kishnagur, he was obliged to ask the Rajah's permission to have a man to procure toddy for his friend: the Rajah consented, on the condition that a sentry of his own should accompany the man, to see that he brought just no more than sufficed for his master's use, for fear he should ferment and sell it, and thereby produce drunken-

ness among the people. The native Rajah did not want a revenue obtained at the expense of the morality of his subjects; the British India Government encourage as much drunkenness as possible provided they reap the profit from it. It has, (continues Mr. Shore) been observed as a general truth, that the more connexion the natives have had with the English, the more immoral, and the worse characters in every respect they become."

I have quoted these cases not to bring to the bar on this occasion any of my countrymen who are administering the affairs of India, but to account for those scenes of demoralization, for that want of veracity, and sometimes of honesty, which are detected in the natives of India at the presidencies, where the European is sure to land on going to India; and, landing a stranger, and every thing striking him, and striking him strongly; at such a moment he sees that which leads him to believe that the people generally are immoral, and are as destitute all over the land of probity and honor and truth as they are where they live under the eye, and under the oppressive hand of the white man, where they naturally resort to the only weapons which the weak can use against the powerful — weapons which a wretched being will always resort to when the conqueror's heel is on his neck. (Applause.)

I will now refer to another document or two on this branch of the question, and these also shall be drawn from the highest sources. What say the most distinguished men in reference to the *true character* of the native Indians? All those whose names I am about to introduce to you are men who have filled the most exalted stations, and enjoyed the most extensive opportunities of forming correct opinions respecting the manners, acquirements, and dispositions of the Hindoos. What says the late lamented Bishop Heber? You will always respect the authority of this accomplished prelate. (Applause.) He went out to India prejudiced against the people. He had

read the accounts given by the historian Mill, and the missionary Ward — the one a most profound philosopher, the other a most useful, pious, and exemplary missionary. He went from place to place over India carried by his faithful and industrious palankeen bearers. He came in contact with the natives; learned what were their habits, what their municipal institutions, what their agricultural pursuits, what their conduct and character while mingling with each other ; and he says : —

“ Of the people, so far as their natural character is concerned, I have been led to form, on the whole, a very favorable opinion. They have, unhappily, many of the vices arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion. — But they are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy, &c., and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children ; of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with. I will state another authority still more satisfactory to me, as his residence in India was longer, and his experience much greater than that of Bishop Heber — the late Mr. Robert Ricards, late of the firm of Ricards, Mackintosh, and Co., of London. He says : —

“ Of the natives of India, I may be permitted to add, that they are naturally acute and intelligent ; and, whatever prejudice may say to the contrary, that they possess as much industry as any other known people, an industry that never fails to manifest itself, when it is not kept down by the overwhelming pressure of arbitrary power. They have many and distinguished virtues, with fewer vices than the long-continued despotisms they have groaned un-

der might be admitted to excuse ; their patience is exemplary ; and instances are numerous of the warmest attachment to those among their superiors, who practise the same virtue towards them. Europeans of forbearing dispositions, and whose sense of right has induced them to be just and patient in their attention to the representations and wants of the natives, have experienced this grateful feeling in an eminent degree.

" Whatever false theorists, misled by superficial observation, may urge on the natural character of native Indians, I hesitate not, confirmed by long experience, to assert, that they are capable of every virtue and of every acquirement that adorn the human mind ; that what they now appear to be is not their nature, but what the caprices and severities of their rulers have made them : and, I lament to add, that the habits, which previous despotisms had established, the British government has not yet changed."

I am also glad to hold in my hand the testimony of an excellent friend, Major-General Briggs, who was recently in this town — and may be again ere these lectures are brought to a conclusion ; who has spent the greater portion of his life in India, who has filled the highest situations, and has mingled with the natives in almost every presidency, and in almost every province of India. He kindly permits me to use his testimony — not written for the occasion — but delivered in 1828, eleven years ago, since which time he has been five or six years in India. His statement forms part of an essay read before the Royal Asiatic Society ; and what says he ? —

" It has been my lot to pass a great part of my life in familiar intercourse with the natives of the East, and principally among those who have lived for the most part beyond our jurisdiction ; and my opinion of them is drawn from such sources. I have found the people, generally speaking, intelligent in a very high degree, though, from

education deficient in the knowledge of European history and sciences. They, however, are ready to admit their ignorance, and are desirous of instruction. They are usually liberal in their opinions, and the Hindoos especially are tolerant on the subject of religion ; for though tenacious of any interference in the exercise of their own, they oppose no worship which does not affect themselves. Among their domestic virtues, I should include affection and tenderness to their relatives, kindness to their servants, integrity in their dealings with each other, and charity to the distressed and the poor. Among the higher classes, I have found refined notions of delicacy of conduct and manners ; and among statesmen and financiers, I have met with enlarged views of policy, and a knowledge of political economy, which would not disgrace the ministers of any government."

I cannot withhold another document or two because they are the testimonies of men still more distinguished. — Lieut. Col. Sir Thomas Monro, one of the greatest men who ever was employed in the civil or military service of the East India Company, has borne his testimony to the character of the Hindoo, and it is as follows : —

"With regard to civilization, I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus. — In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of theory and practice of good government, and in education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture ; unrivalled manufacturing skill ; a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience and luxury ; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic ; the general practise of hospitality and charity amongst each other ; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy, — are among the signs which denote a civ-

ilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe ; and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country would gain by the import cargo."

This evidence was given before a committee of the House of Commons.

I shall now give you the testimony of Sir John Malcolm, the once distinguished Governor of Bombay, who, before the House of Commons in 1813, says :—

" The character of the different classes of Hindus, which compose a great proportion of the population of the subjects of the British government in India, varies in different parts of that empire perhaps as much, if not more than the nations of Europe do from each other.—Under the Bengal establishment there are two descriptions of Hindus, of a very distinct race : below Patna the race of Hindus, called Bengalese, I consider to be weak in body and timid in mind, and to be in general marked by the accompaniments of timidity, which are fraud and servility ; I think, as far as my observation went, this class appeared to diminish both in their bodily strength and mental qualities, as they approached the coast ; and those below Calcutta are, I think, in appearance, among the lowest of our Hindu subjects. But from the moment you enter the district of Bahar, or rather the district of Benares; throughout all the territories in that quarter subject to the company and their dependent ally the Nabob of Oude, and the Duab, the Hindu inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished for their lofty stature, which rather exceeds that of Europeans, and their robust frame of body, which, in almost all, is inured to martial toil by exercises (I speak more particularly of the Rajpoots, who form a considerable proportion of this population,) than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind ; they are brave, generous, and humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their

courage ; the great proportion of the army of the Bengal establishment is composed of these men, and it is remarkable that there are few corporal punishments in that army, the slightest reproach being felt as the greatest punishment is among other nations. I have spoken more to the military class of the Hindus than to the others, because I am more acquainted with them ; but, from all I ever heard of those who follow civil pursuits, it is much the same, allowing for the difference of the habits of life, as that of the Bengal sepoys."

Now I will venture to give you one word more from another individual, and then I have done ; and you will not accuse that individual of being over partial to the natives of India. Certainly he does not stand very high in the estimation of their friends. That individual is Warren Hastings. Now what is his testimony ? I have spoken of the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan on the trial of Warren Hastings ; but after he had retired for years, and had dwelt in obscurity, he was summoned by a mandate of the House of Commons to give evidence before that house in 1813. When he had made his statement before the Committee, one of the members asked him how it was that his testimony before them differed so much with his conduct while in India ? "Sir," replied he, "I am not here to reconcile my inconsistencies, but to state upon oath, as an aged man bordering on the grave, what I know to be the truth." (Applause.) Now what is his testimony ? When calmly looking back upon the character of the natives of India, he says :

"Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I affirm, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue and wholly unfounded. What I have to add must

be taken as my belief, but a belief impressed by a longer and more intimate acquaintance with the people than has fallen to the lot of many of my countrymen. In speaking of the people, it is necessary to distinguish the Hindus who form the great portion of the population, from the Mahometans, who are intermixed with them, but generally live in separate communities; the former are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them, than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion, as any people on the face of the earth; they are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority; they are superstitious, it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do."

Here end my testimonies to the character of the Hindoos. And why do I cite these testimonies one after the other? and why do I keep you from those branches of the question which to you are more interesting as affecting your pursuits and callings on this side of the ocean. It is for this reason: I am anxious you should have just conceptions of the people in whose behalf I plead. As I pleaded for freedom and justice on behalf of the negro, whom I exhibited not as an imperfect, wretched being, but as a being capable of being elevated by the christian care of this country, and made to be the partaker of heavenly grace; — so, as I entreated for one million in the West do I plead for one hundred millions in the East, and that you may care for them, I wish you to know them; that you may love them, I desire you to admire them. I would not strip them of their superstition: I would not annihilate by a figure of rhetoric the car of Juggernaut. Let every pile that has been kindled smoke before you; let every victim that has been crushed beneath the ponderous car of idolatry writhe in agony before your vision; and by every funeral pyre, and every bleeding victim of superstition, I call upon you as christians to rise to the deliverance of this race, whom a mysterious Providence permits you to rule, and over the wide extent of whose territories

you may scatter, out of tho richness of Christianity, the richest and most enduring blessings. (Applause.) Now I have one or two statements to make before I conclude; and you will not perhaps blame me if I do not detain you to an extraordinary length to-night, as I hope we may meet again. One or two statements with regard to the use we make of this country and I have done.

I have shewn you the extent of this land, its population, its riches, and its capacity. Until 1813 it was altogether in the hands of a monopoly — the East India "Company." And what did they tell us? A number of fanatical merchants of this country said, "Open the trade with India." The East India Company replied "Gentlemen, you know little what you talk. Are not we trading with India? What have you to do with India?" Well, but you do nothing with India; give us a chance of sending our manufactures to India. "Poh, poh," said the directors; and in 1813 they held a solemn meeting on the subject, and they put out a manifesto in which they declared that it was impossible that any large addition could be made to the exports to India; and why? because the nature of the Indian people, their climate and their usages, put such a thought entirely out of the question; that is to say that the simplicity and fixed habits of the Hindoo, render it perfectly impossible for you to increase your exports of plain and printed cottons. They were naked because they loved to be in a state of nature. They went without turbans, and scarfs, and trowsers, and flowing robes, because they chose to exhibit nature in primitive and undorned simplicity. They would not have your draperies at all: you cannot go an inch beyond the point we have reached. "Let us try," said the merchants of England and ultimately they obtained a partial opening of the trade. Now let us take the last year of the monopoly trade with India. How much did the company export during the last year of the many palmy years of exclusive trade? They exported to the whole of

India to the wondrous amount of £870,000 ! a mighty extent of exports among 100,000,000 of natives 200,000 soldiers, and all the European functionaries, with their gold sticks and train-bearers from one end of the country to the other ! A mighty amount it looks ! During the preceding year they declared they could not increase their exports to India. Why, in 1819, five years after the experiment of a somewhat unshackled trade was made, the extent of exports were — what ? £870,000 ? No ; £3,-052,741. (Applause.) So much for the truth of the oracle. Take another fact. In 1814 our exports to India — I am coming home to Manchester — were, in printed cotton, 604,800 yards ; in plain cottons, 213,408 yards, making the magnificent sum of 818,208 yards of plain and printed cottons. The declared value was £109,480. Then came free trade, with all its vague and false philosophy. In 1832, what were the exports of printed cottons — 604,800 yards ? No ; 18,291,650 yards. (Applause.) And their plain cottons, how much ? — three hundred thousand yards ? No ; *thirty-nine millions, two hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and eleven yards !* (Applause.) The declared value — what ? — £100,000 ? No ; but £1,531,393. — (renewed applause;) — leaving the balance in favor of free trade, and against the announcements of the Leadenhall street sages of 56,-749,953 yards, and £1,421,913 in the pockets of the British manufacturers. (Great applause.)

Look again at India. This shows that something can be done. Now, I ask, why have not the exports gone on increasing. Will some philosopher tell me as they told us in 1813, that we cannot increase our exports ? We ~~say~~ I see. I have upon this table authorities upon authorities in reference to the earnest desire of the natives generally to consume our manufactures, and on another occasion I shall refer to these ; but I will just say that though all the imports into India, of plain and printed cotton, of hardware, of delph ware, flint glass, hermeti-

cially sealed hums, London porter, Maderia wine, and every thing that makes the table of the ruler there groan when it is spread before his guests — all, all come from England ; yet, the sum total of our exports to India are what ? £3,440,000 ; and our imports from India what ? £2,500,000. Now let us test this. What are your imports from the United States in one article — cotton at lone ? How much do you pay brother Jonathan. (Laughter.) What, £3,000,000, or £6,000,000, or £9,000,000 ? Would not £12,000,000 be nearer the mark in the one article of cotton wool alone ? As for your exports I shall endeavor to give them on another occasion. But the imports from America of cotton transcend the imports from India at least eight or nine times over. Now let us take another account. There is the island of Mauritius inhabited by 96,000 human beings, and the other day 76,000 of them were slaves ; and they are little better yet, because they have not yet had time so materially to improve their circumstances as to make a very remarkable alteration in the trade of that Island. Therefore, I shall go back to the years of their apprenticeship in order to give you the calculations which I might think most just. To the island of Mauritius with a population of only 90,000, our exports were £356,900, and imports £697,000 ; and the taxes upon all, including both slaves and masters were 52s 8d. per head. Take the colony of Sydney, made up of all sorts. Sydney is said to contain a population of 85,000. From Sydney they export as you are aware, very much wool and other things to the amount of £514,000, and import to the amount of £749,000 ; — and the inhabitants of Sydney pay taxes per head of 77s. 7d. Then in British Guiana where there is a population of 99,700, we export to the amount of £666,000 and import to the amount of £1,929,000, and the whole population pay on an average 31s. 3d. per head taxes. The little island of Trinidad, with a population of 40,000, takes to the amount of £223,000, and exports to the amount of

£298,000. And the despised island of St. Domingo, said to be over-run with brutes in the form of negroes — those human beings whom all the world have agreed to laugh at but could not conquer — (applause) — they, you know, have an export trade of about a million and an import trade of about a million, though the population is not more than 1,100,000. Then look at British India, containing one hundred millions of inhabitants, whose export trade does not exceed £2,500,000, or about 6d. per head, and with an import trade that we hear so much about, amounting to £3,440,000, being about 8d. per head over all the country. And what taxes does she pay? — though ground to the earth by their weight. They don't pay 7s. 7d. with the convicts of Sydney; they don't pay 52s. 8d. with the Mauritius; they don't pay 31s. 3d. with the inhabitants of British Guiana, nor 23s. with the population of Trinidad, or some 36s. with the people of this country, but altogether they pay 4s. Od. per head, which, taking their population at 100,000,000, makes the sum of £20,000,000. Here, then, we see at a glance the effects of mis-government. Now, what are the causes that bring about these effects I shall not state to-night; but on another occasion I will carry you to India and reveal them to you without concealment. The whole truth shall be told of the character of the government of that country, in order that you may see how it is that no more revenue is raised, that no more produce of the country is exported, and that no more of our manufactures are carried from our shores to that immense country. (Hear, hear, and applause.) And what is my object in all this? I wish to improve and elevate the condition of the Hindoo. How is it to be improved? Though I should tell you of his wrongs for a month from this time, if I chalk out no plan, if I deal in no practical demonstrations, if I show you not that you possess the power, I may harrow up your feelings, I might extract your tears, I might send you — and that would be something, that would be much. — I

might send you to pray for them, but I should not answer the question which your beating hearts and indignant minds would ask — “ What can we do for India ? ” (Applause.) But if I can show you that you can do something for India, if you will go with us in our benevolent movements, by gaining information yourselves, by distributing it among your neighbors, by meetings like this, and by individual exertions elsewhere, you may excite an amount of interest in their favor which cannot be overcome ; and when parliament assembles you may petition for a removal of those fiscal hindrances which now, like a magic spell, bind the shores of that country, and prevent the produce of your manufactures from enjoying a much further and more extensive exportation. If those hindrances be removed, I promise you that you shall be enriched ; and that while you enrich yourselves, you shall be conferring incalculable blessings upon a race of human beings who will not fail, whatever other rewards you may enjoy, to bless you for your kindness, and to pray for your prosperity. (Applause.) Then I shall endeavor to show you that you hold at once in your hand the charter of your own freedom, and the freedom of millions of the human family. One word upon the topic so familiar and so dear to me and to you also, and I shall conclude this address. We mourn over slavery, for it exists still. — Though we have achieved for the islands of the West Indies a noble triumph — and there is a friend here (Mr. Chamberlain we believe,) beside me who could tell you of the horrors of the former times, and the joys and blessings of the better system. (Applause.) Though we have achieved a triumph in the West Indies, have we liberated all the African bondsmen who groan in slavery on the face of the earth ? America ! free America, Republican America, Christian America, America with her bibles, and revivals, and magnificent missionary operations, America with her Declaration in one hand and the bible in the other, cruelly and inconsistently tramples up-

on the necks of 2,500,000 of her population. Brazil holds 2,000,000 more; Spain 500,000 more; and Sweden and Portugal, and Denmark some 1,000,000 more; making a dark aggregate of between five and six millions of human beings held in bondage. And what does this engender? A slave trade between Africa and the other parts of the world to the extent of 160,000 or 170,000 per annum at a cost to Africa, as has been demonstrated, of 375,000, or nearly; so that during the revolution of the earth on its axis, more than a thousand human beings are either by slaughter or enslavement sacrificed. Either they are slaughtered in the predatory wars waged to procure slaves, or die in the dreadful march from the interior to the east, are murdered in their passage, or pine in bondage on the rice plains of Carolina, or the valley of the Mississippi; and thus 375,000 of the children of Africa are either immolated on their own shores, die upon the ocean, or are carried into returnless captivity. We wish this to be put an end to. And how is this trade to be put an end to. Do men go to the expense of sending ruffian fiends to Africa, to steal men, and women that they may have the abstract pleasure of ill treating them and calling them slaves? No; you want cotton. Your mills are continually crying give, give, give. The Americans love money; and to get your money they send men to Africa to steal men and women and children there, and to bring them to the Texas or Cuba, in order that you may sweeten your morning drink with sugar, and clothe your forms with cotton. Now, why must every vein of Africa thus bleed? Why must every wind that passes over the plains of Carolina gather up the sighs of broken hearts? Will the cotton tree grow only in the valley of the Mississippi? Must the crushed cane with its sweets be procured at the expense of the crushed hearts of millions of human beings? Where is the home of the cotton tree? Is it America? No. There it is a foreigner and an exotic. The home of the cotton tree is in India; there it has grown for 4000 years.

Do you want to know who wore it ? The Hindoos and the Egyptians wore it ; the noble, graceful, civilized Asiatics wore it. I say civilized — luxuriant in all the fruits of learning and taste ; while we, their goth-like rulers, were clothing our bodies with skins or covering them with paint. Look then from the shores of America to the plains of India — to the birth-place of the cotton plant. Encourage India ; foster and cherish India. Speak the word ; and you shall have cotton, and you shall have no discriminating duties ; we will not ask you to say, " which is the blood-stained produce, and which is the produce of willing industry." The willing husbandman will give you cotton for 4d. per lb., while the slave master, taxed with the curse of his system, cannot afford it you for less than 9d. per lb. (Loud applause.) Here then is profit and philanthropy going hand in hand ; and as we are all agreed as rational beings to use means for the accomplishment of our ends, I believe it is our duty to look upon this question in this aspect. I touch upon it the more freely because I find standing as I do before this audience, the most grave and influential part of my subject would be left unnamed if I did not tell you that upon the principle of political economy, by putting into operation the laws of supply and demand, by breaking down the barriers which prejudice and ignorance have upreared, you may give happiness to a hundred millions of human beings, freedom to millions more, and peace and security to an entire nation on the continent of Africa.

All that I say with regard to cotton will apply to sugar, rice, coffee, tobacco, indigo, linseed, and to grains of every kind ; in fact every thing that you now import from other tropical climates may be all cultivated in India, and in such abundance as amply to supply all our national demands. There is one other thing that occurs to me at this time, and it is this : We have too long shut our eyes to the manner in which we have ruled the countries that

through successive years and ages have come under our sway. Colonization is now in every body's mouth. — Australia is to be colonized ; New Zealand is to be colonized ; Texas is to be colonized ; and by and by we shall talk of colonizing India. There are those, and there are not a few of them, who think that Hindoo intellect and industry are not enough, and that ere the treasures of that country can be developed you must send out British artisans and mechanics ; that you must send out British agriculturalists to hold the plough, to put in the seed, and to thrust in the sickle when the harvest is ripe. I don't believe this ; but if we must have colonies I want to lay down such principles and to see them recognized, as will not only spare the lives but promote the happiness of those with whom we have to do. I do not want to see the scenes enacted in India which have been enacted in Mexico and Peru, the West India Islands, and North America. Having named America, suffer me, before I sit down, to say a word respecting the Red Indians who once roamed free and happy over the face of that country. It is well known to you that, to assist in the promotion of a great object, I visited the United States. Whilst there, I trod the banks of many splendid rivers, covered with primeval forests, or ornamented with the beautiful habitations of happy husbandmen, surrounded by fertile and well-cultivated farms. But never, upon the banks of the Delaware, or the Hudson, or the Mohawk, or the Merrimack, did I behold one solitary representative of all the teeming tribes who possessed the country before the genius of Columbus pointed the white man to its shores. Standing in the midst of a proud trans-Atlantic city, surrounded by crowded marts, and towering steeples; and stately dwellings, and summoning up the scenes of other days; the heart is deeply affected by the contrast, and you are ready to exclaim — “ Oh this spot, now surrounded by all the splendor of civilized life, the Indian chieftain pursued the panting deer, or wooed in solitude his dusky mate. Here

lived and loved another race of human beings — here, in the still waters of the sedgy lake, they paddled the light canoe along the rocky shore — here too they engaged in the death grapple — and here, when the strife was over, they smoked the pipe of peace — here too they worshipped the Great Spirit — not the God of Revelation, for they knew him not — but the God of the Universe, whom they adored in every thing around them. But all this has passed away! Two hundred years have been enough to sweep away a whole race. The council fire is quenched — the lodge is in ruins — the hunting ground of the Indian is covered by the dwellings of the white man — and the time is at hand when the last of these children of the wilderness will taste the bitter fruits of European colonization, and leave the land of his forefathers to the possession of strangers. (Loud cheers.) The fate of the Red Indian awaits, I fear, other races of mankind, and I am anxious to lift up my voice against the execution of the bloody decree which has gone out against the defenceless children of nature. Rather would I see India with all her riches a sealed country, than behold her children sacrificed on the shrine of our cupidity. I would have our wharves covered with sugar, and cotton, and tea, and rice, and indigo of India, but I would not have a single native of the country enslaved or dispossessed. I would not have the scenes of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence perpetrated over again upon the banks of the Burampooter and the Ganges. Least of all would I have those energies which I desire to see exerted to save India, put forth to injure and destroy her. I want you to send nothing to India but just laws, your orders, your money and your manufactures. If you will follow me through the lectures I have commenced, from topic to topic, from demonstration to demonstration, I will show you how, without going beyond the limits of your own Exchange and manufactory, you may bestow prosperity and happiness upon a great and grateful people, and bring down upon you the

blessing of millions ready to perish. I invoke you then, by every feeling of enlightened patriotism — by every principle of honorable enterprise — and every recollection of human responsibility, to enter upon the work I have set before you. So shall you prove yourself a generous and magnanimous people. So shall your righteousness go before you, and the glory of the Lord bring up the rear.'

The lecturer concluded amidst the most hearty applause, after having addressed the assembly for about two hours. A collection was taken at the door in aid of the Society.

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## SECOND LECTURE.

ON Thursday evening last Mr. George Thompson delivered his second lecture on the subject of British India. The leading topic of which was, "The duty and interest of Great Britain to consider the condition and claims of her possessions in the East." The audience was much more numerous than on the former occasion, and if possible a deeper interest seemed to be entertained on the subject then brought under discussion. The lower part of the Meeting House was completely filled, and a very considerable portion of the large gallery. The audience supposed to be about equally composed of ladies and gentlemen, all of the most respectable appearance. The lecturer entered the house a little before seven o'clock, and was loudly applauded as he passed down one of the aisles to the reading-desk. In the speakers' gallery the lecturer was supported on the right and left by a number of gentlemen of the highest respectability. In introducing his lecture Mr. Thompson said: —

"The possession of sovereignty over extensive kingdoms is a sacred trust, for which nations are not less responsible than individuals, a delegation from the supreme fountain of power ; and as the unalterable laws of nature forbid us to confound men with things, or to forget the reciprocal obligations subsisting between the sovereign and the subject, we can scarcely be guilty of a greater crime than to consider the latter as merely subservient to the interests of the former. Every individual of the immense population subjected to our sway, has claims on our justice and benevolence which we cannot with impunity neglect : the wants and sufferings of every individual utter a voice which goes to the heart of humanity. In return for their allegiance we owe them protection and instruction, together with every effort to ameliorate their condition and improve their character." These, sirs, are the words of one of the most gifted of modern writers, and, it will be allowed that they are not an inappropriate introduction to a lecture on the duty and interest of Great Britain, to consider the condition and claims of her possessions in the East. But it may be said that the sentiments I have borrowed, are more applicable to the duty of those who are the appointed rulers and guardians of our Eastern possessions than to us. I fully grant that they are primarily applicable to those who have taken upon themselves the fearful trust and responsibility of governing the myriad population of British India ; but, if it can be shewn that those who have assumed the responsibility have forgotten or evaded it — that the government of India has hitherto proceeded upon principles of exclusive interests and self-aggrandisement — that proprietors have been more intent upon receiving large dividends for themselves, and obtaining lucrative appointments for their friends, than upon promoting the welfare of the people from whom their wealth is drawn — that servants of the Company, while alive to the pay, the perquisites and the pensions of office, have been indifferent to the happiness

or misery of those around them--that directors have found enough to do to distribute their patronage and attend to their private concerns, and have been anxious rather to resist all experiments to better the condition and bring out the resources of the country, than to invent and carry out plans of improvement — if, I say, it can be shewn that the welfare of the multiplying millions of the East have been overlooked in a general and prevalent desire to advance party and personal objects, then I think it will be seen and felt by the friends of India, that the time is come, to look from those who have proved themselves (to say the least) unequal to the due discharge of their delegated trust, to those by whom that trust has been confided, and who are bound before man and before God to see that the power they have bestowed; is neither neglected, transcended nor abused. (Loud applause.) But, further ; if it can be shewn that through the incompetence or malversation of the rulers of India, a vast amount of misery and injustice has been inflicted upon the natives ; that the prosperity of the Empire has declined ; that the sources of its revenue are gradually diminishing ; that already the symptoms of disaffection and distrust are appearing ; add to which, the growth in wealth and comfort of the people of this country is greatly retarded by the present system of Indian administration — then, sirs, I think a case has been made out warranting a prompt and effectual interference. I think I shall fully succeed, before these lectures are brought to a close, in shewing that such a case exists. More than twenty years ago the late Mr. Mill was of opinion that the members of the Court of Proprietors (the democratical branch of the East India Company) had forgotten their duty, and had become utterly indifferent to the way in which the Government of India was conducted. After describing the constitution and powers of that Court, and laboring to prove that "the aristocracy and monarchy were subordinate and subject" to it, he says — "Notwithstanding the power which, by the

theory of the Constitution, is thus reserved to the popular part of the system, all power has centered in the Court of Directors ; and the Government and the Company have been an oligarchy in point of fact. So far from meddling too much, the Court of Proprietors has not attended to the common affairs, even sufficiently for the business of inspection." That the Honorable Court has not improved since this likeness was drawn, you will believe, when I tell you, that at a recent meeting, the members allowed themselves to be told by one of the directors, that their business was *not* to call for papers or to inquire into the acts of the Court above, but, to receive their dividends and leave other matters to their superiors. (Applause.) On that occasion not a murmur, not a word of dissent was heard. The law was taken from the lips of the director with mute submission, and the constituency stood rebuked in the presence of their haughty representative. Little, therefore, can be looked for from men who, having long lost sight of their duties, have at last suffered their own rights to be taken away, and can now calmly submit to be told by their elected servants, that they have no right to look into their own affairs. (Hear.) Alas ! for the people of India, while their destinies are in hands like these. It is impossible, sirs, to attend a meeting of the court of proprietors, with a mind suitably affected by the consideration of the vast magnitude and importance of the interests connected with our Empire in the East, and there to mark the character of the debates, the reception which certain great questions meet with, and the votes that are given, without deeply lamenting the situation of those whose happiness depends upon the legislation of such a body of men. It appears quite evident that every measure intended for the effectual relief of the people of India or for the advancement to any considerable extent of the prosperity of this country in connection with the East, must be originated out of doors. It is not impossible that when such measures have been fully discussed and

deliberately decided upon, and are loudly demanded by the British people, they may be adopted and carried out by the East India Company ; but the history of the past forbids us to expect that any comprehensive plan of amelioration or improvement will be put into operation, until it is rendered necessary and inevitable by the wishes and determinations of the enlightened and philanthropic portions of this great community. [Hear.] But let us see what grounds there are to justify a popular movement in favor of India. If the object is to be gained in whole or in part by legislative measures, must not such legislative measures emanate exclusively from the East India Company ? Are they not the rulers of India until the expiration of the charter ? The East India Company are, it is true, the rulers of India, but neither the sole, the supreme, nor the irresponsible rulers. Though they possess what is called a charter act, constituting them the managers of an immense territory, and the receivers of its revenues ; and although they have been permitted to exercise almost unshared and uncontrolled sovereignty, yet it is nevertheless equally true, that according to the terms of their charter, they are subject every moment to the authority of parliament, which retains the power to make laws for India as though the charter act had never been granted. [Hear, hear, and loud applause.] Nay more, is bound to watch over the affairs of India, and to demand from the Cabinet Minister at the head of the Board of Control, a full exposition of all matters connected with the welfare of our Indian empire. [Renewed applause.] I will read to you the clause to which I refer ; it is the 51st clause of the present charter, premising that the words it contains are not words of course, but inserted for the special purpose of pointing out the duty and obligation of the Imperial Parliament, and the competency of the people of England to look to Parliament for the redress of India's wrongs. The clause is as follows :—

" Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing

herein contained shall extend to affect in any way the right of parliament to make laws for the said territories and for all the inhabitants thereof ; and, it is expressly declared that a full, complete, and constantly existing right and power is intended to be reserved to parliament, to control, supersede, or prevent all proceedings and acts whatsoever of the said governor-general in council, and to repeal and alter at any time, any law or regulation whatsoever, made by the said governor-general in council, and in all respects to legislate for the said territories and all the inhabitants thereof, in as full and ample a manner as if this act had not been passed.” [Very loud cheers.]

Here, then, is the charter of India ; here is the palladium of the liberties and happiness of that country.—The propriety and duty of making the Company thus responsible to parliament are admirably argued by the matchless Edmund Burke in his celebrated speech on the India Bill. In answer to the question, to whom he would make the East India Company answerable, he says—

“ To whom would I make the East India Company accountable ? Why to parliament to be sure ; to parliament, which alone is capable of comprehending the magnitude of its object and its abuse ; and alone capable of an effectual legislative remedy. The very charter, which is held out to exclude parliament from correcting malversation with regard to the high trust vested in the company is the very thing which at once gives a title and imposes on us a duty to interfere with effect, wherever power and authority originating from ourselves, are perverted from their purposes, and become instruments of wrong and violence. If parliament, sir, had nothing to do with this charter, we might have some sort of epicurean excuse to stand aloof, indifferent spectators of what passes in the company’s name in India and in London. But if we are the very cause of the evil, we are in a special manner engaged to the redress : and for us passively to bear with

oppressions committed under the sanction of our own authority, is in truth and reason for this house to be an active accomplice in the abuse. That the power, notoriously, grossly abused, has been bought from us is very certain. But this circumstance, which is urged against the bill, becomes an additional motive for our interference, lest we should be thought to have sold the blood of millions of men, for the base consideration of money. We sold, I admit, all that we had to sell; that is, our authority, not our control. We had not a right to make a market of our duties." [Loud applause.]

It is notorious, however, that the parliament, like the East India proprietary, have failed in their duty to their possessions in the East. So far from being impressed with a sense of their value and importance, our legislators have appeared to regard them as almost below their serious notice. The experience of more than fifty years has shown, that the most insignificant topic of a local, temporary, or personal character, has a better chance of securing the attention and consideration of the legislature, than the condition and claims of a dominion as extensive as Europe, with a population comprising a sixth part of the inhabitants of the globe. The very best informed on parliamentary matters, are perfectly aware that this is the painful fact. Never was the disregard of Indian affairs more conspicuous, than during the debates which took place on the granting of the last charter. Do you ask, when will it be otherwise? I answer, when you, the people of England, open your eyes to the value of this empire, to the responsibility of your position, and the solemn duty which your distant dominion imposes upon you: when you show your determination to explore its vast resources, and cultivate a kindly and advantageous intercourse with its wretched inhabitants; when you enter with vigor upon the prosecution of that honorable and extensive commerce with the East to which you have been so long invited, but in vain. Then will this forgotten

empire become visible to the optics of honorable and right honorable legislators ; then will they begin, with eager and wondering eyes to measure its length and its breadth : then will they enter into nice computations and comparisons respecting its imports and exports, its produce and capacity : then will India no longer be a bore and a bugbear, but, what it really is, and ought to be, a subject claiming the profoundest study, and an empire worthy the loftiest eloquence which orators can display, and the wisest considerations which statesmen can bestow. [Loud applause.]

If, then, we find this mighty empire at present neglected alike by the East India Company and the parliament, what shall be done ? Shall we abandon to their fate scores of millions of our fellow subjects ? Shall we leave a people, ignorant of their political rights, and helpless because ignorant, the prey of insatiate tax-gatherers, the victims of every experiment which their rulers may choose to make, to ascertain how far and how long they may extract wealth from a beggared people, in defiance of every principle of good government, and every law of the living God ? Are we at liberty to turn a deaf ear to the piercing cry of distress wasted to us from the plains of Hindostan ? Have we no duty to perform to ourselves and to our country ? None to the consciences of proprietors, directors, and legislators, slumbering at their posts, with the destinies of millions in their hands, heedless of the costliness and beauty of the brightest gem in the crown of their sovereign, and resolutely refusing to learn the lesson, that, if they would but

*Rule the country for the country's sake,  
It soon would give them more than now they take?*

(Immense applause.)

Sirs, these are solemn and weighty questions. I have considered the answer, and, I hesitate not to declare my conviction, that we have hitherto, as a nation, been cri-

inally negligent of the rights, the privileges, and the interests of those whom we have subjected to our sway, and that at our door not less than that of the rulers of India, lies the guilt and disgrace of the present system. We have read with exultation and pride of the conquests achieved by our soldiers in oriental climes — we have delighted to do honor to the heroes who have returned from the East, laden with the trophies of their hard-won victories — we have placed the wreath of glory upon the brow of the military chieftain, and hailed him as the saviour rather than the destroyer of mankind; we have heard with patriotic rapture of the accession of province after province and kingdom after kingdom to our dominion in the East ; we have spoken with ignorant complacency of the mildness and justice of our rule, contrasted with the sanguinary and perfidious career of the Mussulman conqueror ; we have congratulated the children of Brahmah upon their happy lot, in being brought under our yoke ; we have, too, claimed credit for our christian zeal, and have pointed with devout admiration to our Buchanans, our Martyns, our Hebers, and our Marshmans, as to burning and shining lights, sent back from the western world to illuminate the darkened chambers of the East. All this we have done, and more recently, we have joined in the cry of "*Free trade with India,*" and "*Justice to the Commerce of England,*" while we have remained strangers to the actual condition of the millions brought into political affinity with us, and to the true practical character of the government under which they have been placed, and the nature of those measures which are needed to regenerate and elevate the land. [Loud applause] — It is high time to awake out of sleep — to rouse ourselves from our unfraternal lethargy, and to engage in a hearty and united effort to obtain for the natives of British India that encouragement and protection, which, if much longer delayed, may come to them too late. The measure of our duty upon this question is the measure of our capacity.

**What we can do we ought to do.** We are urged to the fulfilment of our duty by the most powerful considerations. Our fellow-citizenship — our past neglect — our national honor — our present circumstances — our future advantages — all say to us, "consider the condition and claims of India." [Loud applause.]

In speaking of India, I have already looked at the extent, beauty and fertility of the country, and its capacity to furnish us with almost every article of tropical produce. I have also glanced at the population, their moral character, and their disposition to become our willing and industrious agents in the developement of the exhaustless resources of their native land. We come now to look at the actual condition of the people, and in doing so, my view must be exceedingly brief and general, as I desire to hasten to another branch of the subject. Let me observe, that, if I do not on this occasion cite written authorities in proof of all the statements I make, it is only because the time would fail me to do so, but that I ho' myself prepared to substantiate, by evidence of the highest character, the truth and accuracy of all that I advance [Loud applause.] In my published addresses it will be seen that I am in the habit of furnishing abundant testimonies. [Cheers.]

**THE CONDITION OF INDIA !** — Look at the circumstances of the people. Impoverished almost to the lowest possible degree. The ranks of society as nearly as can be, levelled. Princes deposed — nobles degraded — landed proprietors annihilated — the middle classes absorbed — the cultivators ruined — great cities turned into farm villages — villages deserted and in ruins — mendicancy, gang robbery and rebellion, increasing in every direction. This is no exaggerated picture. This is the state, the present state of India. Some of the finest tracts of land have been forsaken, and given up to the untamed beasts of the jungle. The motives to industry have been destroyed. The soil seems to lie under a curse. Instead

of yielding subsistence for the wants of its own population, and the inhabitants of other regions, it does not keep in existence its own children. [It becomes the burying place of millions, who die upon its bosom crying for bread.] Hear ! — In proof of this, turn your eyes backward upon the annals of the past year. Go with me into the most wretched provinces of the Bengal presidency, and I will show you the bleaching skeletons of five hundred thousand human beings, who perished of hunger in the space of a few short months. Yes, died of hunger in what has been justly called the granary of the world. Hear with me, if I speak of the scenes which were exhibited during the prevalence of this famine. The air for miles was poisoned by the effluvia emitted from the putrifying bodies of the dead. The rivers were choked with the corpses thrown into their channels. Mothers cast their little ones beneath the rolling waves because they would not see them draw their last gasp, and feel them stiffen in their arms. [Great emotion.] The English in the city were prevented from taking their customary evening drives. Jackals and vultures approached, and fastened upon the bodies of men women and children before life was extinct. Madness, disease, despair, stalked abroad, and no human power present to arrest their progress. *It was the carnival of death!* And this occurred in British India — in the reign of Victoria the First ! [Great emotion.] Nor was the event extraordinary and unforeseen. Far from it : 1836–38 witnessed a famine in the northern provinces : 1833 beheld one to the eastward : 1822–23 saw one in the Deccan. They have continued to increase in frequency and extent under our sway for more than half a century. Under the administration of Lord Clive a famine in the Bengal provinces swept off three millions ; and at that time the British speculators in India had their granaries filled to repletion with corn. Horrid monopoly of the necessities of life. Thus three millions died while there was food enough and to spare locked up

to the destruction of the city. It will appear upon the scaffold of those who are called to represent the best human courage, as we are made acquainted by the records of the custom houses with the fact, that no merchandise was exported from the lower parts of Bengal, so would have bid the world who perished — (had a trial) — for a whole year! My friends, do you realize this scene? If you do not, gather around you the population of this vast city — let every street, lane, and court, pour out its teeming tenantry — let high and low, rich and poor be collected. How many do you behold? three hundred thousand. Two hundred thou and must be added. And now survey the assembled concourse — compute if you can the mighty sum of existence — and then imagine all these, condemned to die of hunger in the space of one year. Imagine the commencement, progress, and consummation of the work of death, and that, at the expiration of a year, all, upon whom you gazed at the beginning, had been carried off and swept away, not by the comparatively slow process which we are continually witnessing around us, and which carries away our lovers, acquaintances and friends, but sentenced to be destroyed by famine, to be carried off in eight short months by the raging and unpeased appetite of hunger. [Great emotion.] Oh horrid sacrifice! Will you not — I appeal to your compassion — I appeal to your generosity — I appeal to your patriotism — Oh, will you not become a cherishing and a covering cherub to those wretched beings? Are you not exalted for that very purpose? Is there not for nations as well as individuals a day of probation, and a day of retribution? And if we abuse our privileges — as surely as Rome, and Carthage, and Ninevah, and Tyre have sunk, and the richest maritime cities have become fishing villages, where the fisherman hangs his nets, so surely shall this land, now first among the nations of the world, be forgotten, or if remembered, remembered only to be infamous, if the stretches not forth the sceptre of

water instead of the rest of opposition, and delivering us --  
blow & on the other hand instead of binding them down by ob-  
ligation. [I could applaud.] — Again I beseech you, if you  
can, the remembrance of such appalling events. Even while  
I am speaking, a famine is decimating another of the pres-  
tresses of India. (Hear, hear.)

Do you ask why this wholesale destruction of human life? I reply, and while I do so, I am fully aware of the nature of the accusation I bring against the government of India, at home and abroad, and am ready to sustain it — because the people have been virtually robbed of their soil — deprived of the fruits of their industry — prevented from accumulating the means of meeting a period of drought, and are thus doomed to death, should the earth refuse, for a single season, to yield its increase. Our government, (says one of the highest authorities) has been practically one of the most extortiionate and oppressive that ever existed; and a committee of the House of Commons has declared that our revenue system in India, is one of habitual extortion and injustice, leaving nothing to the cultivator but what he is able to secure by *evasion and fraud*. Can any evidence be required, more conclusive in proof of the ruinous nature of our adminis-  
tration, than is furnished by the fact, that famines are becoming almost general, and that they are sweeping off their victims by hundreds of thousands — and that these famines occur in the most fertile districts of the globe, and during a period of profound internal peace. The master evil of the present system in India is the *land tax*. The government has made itself *de facto*, the *uni-  
versal landlord* — has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent — has fixed an assumed capability on every field to produce — then, an assumed price on the produce of the field — and then fixed, that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of the crop, shall be the tax to the state for ever — and, if the culti-  
vator should lay out his money in the improvement, in any

wage of the land under his management, the government claiming the right of making a *part payment*, in proportion to the assumed increased value of the crop. This is the unnatural system of the government in India — a system under which all life dies, death lives, and nature bleeds profusely, all misfortunes, all prodigies throng, — Abominable, unutterable. (Very loud applause.)

The results of this system have appeared in a thousand chilling forms. Rural industry has been crushed. Enterprise has been rendered profitless — cultivated lands, overburthened by taxation have been abandoned — the revenue has declined — the prosperity of the country has been undermined at its foundations — property has gone on deteriorating, until estates have been sold for less than the amount of one year's taxes. Mr. Rickards informs us that the landowners of Malabar offered their estates to the government on condition of their receiving a bare subsistence of rice and curry in return. If the principle of taxation has been bad, the mode adopted in collecting it has been no better. Mr. Fullerton, when a member of council at Madras, thus described it : —

"Imagine (says he) the revenue leviable through the agency of one hundred thousand revenue officers, collected or remitted at their discretion, according to the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land, or his separate property ; and in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbor, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demand, imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of the parish. Imagine collectors to every county, acting under the orders of a board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labor, by a general equalization of assessment ; seizing and sending back runaways to each other. And lastly, imagine the collector, the sole magistrate or justice of the peace of the county, through the

medium and instrumentality of whom alone, any criminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject, can reach the superior courts. Imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer employed in the collection of the land revenue, to be a police officer, vested with the power to FINN, CONFIN, PUT IN THE STOCKS, AND FLING ANY INHABITANT WITHIN HIS RANGE, ON ANY CHARGE, WITHOUT OATH OF THE ACCUSER, OR SWORN RECORDED EVIDENCE OF THE CASE."

When I give a lecture, as I hope to do in the course of next week, on the cultivation of cotton in India, (applause) I am exceedingly glad you receive that announcement (renowned applause) with such significant signs of approbation. Yes, I will take up the question of cotton; I will lecture upon that subject so little understood practically even in this country. I now refer to its cultivation — not its manufacture (far be it from me to impugn either the wisdom or ingenuity or capacity of the people of this district to manufacture.) I say I shall show that the people of this district have not done justice to that portion of the world that might have given to their gratified eyes a waving a bountiful crop of cotton, but have looked to other regions where the trade of cotton planting is not very honorable, and where those employed in the cultivation of it are unfortunately not blessed with freedom to a licentious extent. (Loud applause.)

Add to this, that the cultivator is generally obliged to borrow money from his village banker for subsistence and seed, and that he is made to pay an exorbitant interest for his accommodation. Put these things together and you may form some picture in your mind of the condition of the man who is called a ryot in British India. It is right to observe that in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, there has been a permanent settlement of the land tax, which, although at the time it was made was almost equal to one-half of the gross produce of the land in cultivation, has been found to be productive of much benefit, and to warrant the opinion that a permanent settlement

(avoiding the errors of the former one,) might be extended over the whole of India with the happiest effects. Yet this comparatively favored region has recently been thrown into a state of confusion, alarm and disaffection, by an Inquisition on the part of government into the titles by which certain lands have been held rent free from time immemorial. Having in my possession a letter recently addressed by a highly distinguished native of Bengal, to a friend in this country, I will read a part of it, bearing upon this subject. It is dated Calcutta, the 2d of May:

" You who are in England, give your thoughts to nothing else, at present, than to terrors of what threatening us on the east, the west, and the north; but you have no idea of the extent of popular discontent and dissatisfaction prevailing within British India against the government, for the rigorous adoption of their oppressive resumption measures. No person can, in the present day, call himself master of any land tenure. The government functionaries under various denominations, are searching every hole and corner for tracts of land for the purposes of resumption. Their operations, to say the least of them, are as bad as the ' Spanish Inquisition.' Men, whose only resources are the produce of their lands, who have derived all their support, and that of their families and children from their lands, and who have all the while lived happy, and without any anxiety, in the consciousness of these lands being their property, and of their being able to leave them behind for the future subsistence of their families, these men are now, all at once, put out of them by the mere stroke of the pen of a stripling officer, who perhaps passes sentence with no other object in view than to make display of his zeal for the interests of his Honorable employers, or to obtain a list in their service. Now, speaking politically, what government can depend upon the security of its country when its east, its west, and its north, are choked with the smell of powder, and whilst its very allies, are from dissatisfaction, sending out emissaries to seek

protection from its enemies, and its subjects are every where cherishing the deepest discontent? Any helping hand then, which any of you may be able to hold out to avert the evils under which the natives are groaning, will be regarded as an everlasting obligation conferred on India."

Only a very short time before coming to this meeting on looking over a file of Bombay papers, by the last arrival, I find an editorial article extracted from the *Agra Journal* so entirely corroborative of the view I have taken, and so encouraging in reference to the work upon which I have entered, that I shall offer no apology for laying it before you. The article was occasioned by the arrival in India of the account of a meeting held in Glasgow upon this subject in January last.

"THE GLASGOW PUBLIC MEETING.—Want of space has prevented us from taking earlier notice of the meeting, held by the citizens of Glasgow, on the 15th of January, in behalf of the natives of this country; and the same cause precludes the insertion of the resolutions entered into on that occasion—they have already appeared in the public prints.

"Always regarding discussions of this nature favorably, we look upon the proceedings of this meeting particularly, as *pregnant with the most beneficial consequences*; not, however, from the expectation that either the British Parliament or the Court of Directors *will lend an attentive ear to its benevolent appeal*. But we think, that the attention drawn by the leading men of influential cities to India and Indian affairs, is well calculated to rouse the public mind, and to excite a spirit of inquiry on matters involving the best interests of the British Empire in the East. The strong array of facts which the resolutions embody, cannot fail in enlisting the better feelings of the people of Scotland in favor of the long neglected natives of this country; and it is high time that the lamentable apathy with which their welfare has hitherto been

regarded were removed, and active measures taken to secure to them a title of those privileges which are elsewhere the inheritance of British subjects.

"Whatever may be the opinion of others to the contrary, a careful examination of the present condition of the natives in these provinces has convinced us that much of the misery and depression under which they suffer is attributable to the erroneous political system by which they have hitherto been governed. It has reportedly been asserted that India is not surpassed by any country in fertility and soil; yet it is no less true that she has become "too expensive to govern," that her revenues are yearly decreasing, her wealth and resources gradually being dried up, and whole tracts depopulated from want of the common necessities of life. We do not assert that the famine and its fearful ravages which have caused the cry of human misery to reach the ear, and excite the sympathies of Britain, is chargeable to *the rulers* of the country; we would rather endeavor to point out some of *the glaring evils under which the natives labor, and we would then leave it to our British friends to determine, whether, supposing they had to contend against such a system, poverty and misery would then be less felt, or the ravages of famine be less frequent.*

"The land tax exacted by government as the holder or lord of the soil, we consider to be the most fruitful source of the accumulating evils that oppress the country. It is well known that no native can possess freehold property in the soil which he may improve or alienate at pleasure, and there are consequently no country gentlemen or independent landlords. A policy which constitutes the government 'farmer-general' of the soil, and which causes it to look to that source alone for the support of its ever increasing establishments, carries within itself the seeds of oppression and ruin, cuts off all interest and association between the soil and its children, stifles industry, takes away every motive to exertion, and is a bar to all

improvement. If even the system itself did not naturally tend to impoverish the country and thin its population, the mode in which it is carried into operation must inevitably produce those effects. A district is no sooner surveyed, its quality of soil and means of irrigation carefully marked out and valued than it is rented to a Zemindar at so high a cost, that it is next to an impossibility he can exist, pay his rent and be an honest man. On entering upon his lease he makes advances in money or kind to the ryots to assist them in its cultivation; on the produce of the season being gathered in, he deducts first the government demand, next his own share, including the amount of his advances, with interest, and then makes over the balance to the cultivators, who generally discover that they have toiled for a mere subsistence. This is applicable to favorable seasons only; in times of scarcity they are miserable indeed: with their burden undiminished, their load of debt increased, and the only means of liquidating them taken away, starvation and death terminate the melancholy prospect that lies before them.

"It appears to us that nothing but the most energetic measures can raise the commerce and agriculture of India from their universally depressed condition: nothing short of the powerful voice of the British public will be able to enforce the adoption of those measures or to obtain even partial "justice for India." We therefore hail the institution of societies like those of Glasgow; and we trust they will persevere until their benevolent efforts are crowned with success. Multifarious are the objects which will demand their attention: the application of a portion of the revenue to national objects — the promotion of native education — the abolition of monopolies — the remodelling of the system of taxation — the establishment of an efficient body of police — and the improvement of internal communication. All these measures are of paramount importance; and until they are carried into ef-

fect, we can have no hope of seeing India become, as she ought to be, a permanent source of wealth to Britain, and her right arm in the hour of need and peril." — *Agra Journal*, May 25.

I will offer no apology for reading this article, which you will I am sure, regard as the best part of my lecture. Coming, as it does from the scene of misery I have imperfectly described — written, as it is, by one who dwells upon the spot — one of those Europeans who was kept within the city walls by the fear of inhaling the deadly effluvia sent forth from the lifeless but unburied corpses of famished thousands — one of those who saw the vast multitude of haggard wretches who were fed by the bounty of the government — and withal, a writer who has looked into the causes of these sickening and heart-rending visitations — this article coming from such a quarter, and from such a man, is clothed with authority, and should speak to us in a voice potential.

But, filled with indignation, as I am sure you must be by this brief recital of some only of the wrongs inflicted on the natives of India, you will, perhaps, be disposed to imagine that of the money thus raised, some portion, at least, is applied to the good of the natives, and the improvement and embellishment of the face of the country. Alas! nothing of the kind. Of the twenty millions raised, the army devours nine millions; the tax-gatherers five; the debt, two; allowances and pensions, one; and two or three must come to this country to pay dividends of ten and a half per cent. — there they stick: ten and a half per cent., ten and a half come day, well day, welcome pay; ten and a half! nothing less. (Laughter and applause.) No matter how dry the exchequer; no matter how wronged the people; no matter how heavy the debt, ten and a half per cent. Well, to pay this ten and a half per cent. £2,000,000 must come over here, to say nothing of the vast sums annually remitted by private individuals, or of fifty thousand pounds *secret service money*,

an item which appears in the company's last accounts, just furnished. The sum expended upon education is absolutely contemptible, and as for the advancement of the interests of the country by roads, bridges, canals, and other facilities for internal communication, I have the authority of one of the very best informed writers on Indian subjects, for saying, that when the East India Company was called upon, during the last parliamentary examination, to shew what public works they had erected during the twenty years of their charter, it appeared that the whole sum expended in civil and military labors over the entire face of the country, did not equal what has been expended upon the railway between here and Liverpool. No wonder then that agriculture languishes, and commerce too. What shall we say of the manufactures of the country ? they have dwindled and decayed. The matchless muslins of Dacca, the rich brocades of Benares — these have ceased to be in demand, and ceased to be fabricated. The external commerce of the country inwards and outwards, taken at ten millions, only amounts to one rupee, or two shillings per head. The poverty of the people in these districts is almost beyond conception. Numbers of the cultivators get but one meal a day, and that but a scanty one ; while some are actually obliged to eke out their food by gathering wild herbs and weeds. — The Hon. Mr. Shore says : —

"With respect to the poverty of the people : — We have heard so much of the blessings of the British government, and the wealth which the people have accumulated, while reposing under its beneficent shadow, that some of my readers will probably sneer at the mention of poverty. It is nevertheless true. Each district of the Bengal presidency averages about a million of inhabitants ; yet, in each there are not, on the average, fifty men among the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, jewellers, boat-builders, and other artificers, who could undertake to perform a piece of work to the value of fifty rupees, without

receiving an advance in cash to procure the necessary materials ; and this is a fact well known to all merchants and others, who have ever had occasion to build a house, or construct any work or machine. What should we think of the wealth and prosperity of England, if there were not fifty artificers out of every million of population, who could engage to perform a work to the value of fifty pounds, without receiving an advance of money ? It is precisely the same in the cultivation of the soil. The land is subdivided into small portions, each tilled by its respective owner, who has his own plough and bullocks ; nineteen-twentieths of these are so poor, that without periodical advances at every harvest, to procure seed and food to live on till the crop is ripe, they would not be able to cultivate at all."

Take the testimony of a foreigner, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Boston, U. S.

" Feb. 1837. A more beautiful country than that from Cuddalore to Tanjore (Madras) cannot possibly be imagined. The dense population and rich soil give their energies to each other, and produce a scene of surpassing loveliness ; *but the taxes and other causes keep down the laborers to a state below that of our Southern slaves.*"

Oh, when shall we cease to furnish occasion for such taunts as these ? When shall the proud pro-slavery American be prevented from spying out the nakedness of the land, and finding some apology for his own slave system — the vilest under the blue canopy of heaven — in the condition of our tax-ridden fellow-subjects on the fertile but mismanaged plains of India ? Oh, that such rebukes may sting us to the performance of our duty ! Let us make haste to do justice to India, and our reverend author shall no longer be able to talk of famishing Hindoos or " Southern slaves," for the prosperity of the one shall be the freedom of the other.

" The government share of rice crops, is, on an aver-

ago, about 50 per cent.! But the mode of collection (in money) causes the cultivator to pay about three-fourths of his crop. The public treasury is further replenished by monopolies, by duties on exports and imports, for the most part heavy; by licences for the sale of arrack and toddy; by stamps; by fees on judicial-proceedings, &c.  
&c.

" As there is always power enough in a tropical sun to produce vegetation, moisture alone is necessary to constant cropping. Districts, therefore, furnished as this is, with tanks and rivers, present continually all the varieties of seasons in Europe. The eye wanders over large fields, in some parts of which men are ploughing, in others planting, and in others harvesting, at the same time. Most of the lands are cropped twice a year; sometimes with rice, but more frequently with rice first, and then some other grain or pulse. *The scene is beautiful; but squalid poverty and miserable mendicants constantly intrude;* and remind one of Pope's lines—

" In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain,  
Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain;  
The swain, with tears, his frustrate labor yields,  
And, famished, dies, amidst his ripened fields."

" All the writers I have been able to consult, and most of my friends in various parts of Hindostan, declare India to be in a state of progressive poverty and depression.—The following observation of Hamilton embodies the general idea. After stating many facts, and adducing public records to prove his assertion, he says, ' All the offices of emolument, civil and military, and the highest lines of commerce, are in the hands of strangers; who, after a temporary residence, depart with the capital they have accumulated. Under native rulers, even the extortions of rapacity, and the drains of tribute, returned into circulation, and promoted in some degree territorial industry. Under its present constitution, the remittance, or rather tribute, to Britain, carries off every year a large share of

the produce, for which nothing is returned.''"—*Travels in South-Eastern Asia, including Hindostan*, vii. ii. pp. 69 to 60.

Behold the state of India! Agriculture depressed, disengaged and prevented, by exorbitant and overwhelming taxation, and in some cases by positive prohibition.—Take an example, As a proof look at the conduct of the East India Company towards Sir R. Grant :—

"Cotton and sugar are two great staple productions of India, and in the presidency of Bombay, where there are vast tracts of waste, the late governor, Sir. R. Grant, in order to encourage the natives to produce these articles, so vital to the commerce and manufactures of England, invited them, by public proclamations, to take tracts of land, on the terms of exemption from land-tax for a given number of years. Especial care was taken that the public revenue should not be diminished to the extent of one farthing by the operation of these grants. The result of this wise and humane measure, was, that in a very few brief months, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce reported to the London East India and China Association, that excellent sugar from the Mauritius cane, and cotton, equal to some of the finer kinds of American, were being produced. What did the Court of Directors, when they heard of these grants? The following notification issued in the Bombay Government Gazette of the 20th of June, 1838, must answer the question :

"The Honorable the Court of Directors having been pleased to disapprove of the notifications of the 24th of February, and 1st of August, 1835, and of the 1st and 17th of November, 1836, issued under the authority of Government by the Revenue Commissioner, granting certain exemptions from assessment to lands cultivated with cotton, and the Mauritius sugar cane, and to direct that such notifications be immediately recalled; the Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased hereby to

cancel the said notifications from this date." (Loud expressions of disapprobation.)

Such, I say, is the wretched condition of India. Manufacturers are annihilated by the introduction of the produce of foreign machinery, and many of the productions of the country all but kept out of our ports by partial and onerous duties. The people, in the first place, robbed of their territory, then their labor made unprofitable by intolerable and ruinous assessments; their manufactures driven out by foreign supplies; the production and sale of the absolute necessities of life monopolised by the rulers of the country; the administration of justice a by-word and subject of derision; strippling functionaries from another land placed over them, filled with the pride and insolence of office, and the aristocracy of the skin; their institutions invaded and broken up; their pilgrims to the Ganges (till recently) taxed on the road; their ancient public works suffered to crumble into dust, and their persons and pretensions treated with systematic and ineffable contempt. Such being the state of things, will you wonder to be told that the people do not love us? Do you not rather wonder that 674 civilians, and 30,000 British troops are able to retain the country, and work all the mischief and ruin I have described? Can you be surprised if they feel towards Britain as the poet has described?

" Full half a century has passed away  
 And never, never, in one Indian soul  
 Of all the millions crushed by our control,  
 Hath love, hath gratitude for aught that's dear,  
 Hurled towards thee, or any thought but fear.  
 We live among them like a walking blight,  
 Our very name the watchword of abhor;  
 No sympathy, no pity, no remorse,  
 Our end is profit and our means are force."

" It may be doubted (says a Company's servant) if at any time since we first occupied territory in India, such

deep and dangerous disaffection has prevailed, as exists at present."

" By depriving the community of their rights, (says another) we have engendered crime, misery and revolt; and every fresh inroad on the municipalities, loosens our hold on the affections of the people, and hastens our downfall."

" Such is the insecurity of our tenure of India, (says Sir Charles Metcalfe) that I should not be the least surprised to awake some morning and find the whole thing blown up."

" I repeat it, (says Mr. Dickens, the Registrar of the Supreme Court at Bengal) terror and distrust extensively prevail among the people of this country, and if these feelings subside into the certainty that there is no hope, that will but generate other feelings which a rooted sense of wrong can never fail to produce."

" We talk (says Dwarkanath Tagore, a worthy Brahmin, 'the most remarkable man of his nation') of the tyranny of the Mahomedan Government; but what are the English doing? They are taking away from us all that the benevolence of the Mahomedans had given us. The just, the liberal, the enlightened English are depriving us of all that a tyrannical, bigoted, semi-barbarian's government bestowed. Is this the boasted justice and liberality of our rulers?"

Who does not feel these sarcasms, so richly deserved, bring a blush upon his cheek? Finally, on this part of the subject—

" We are (says Mr. Shore) abhorred by the people, who would hail with joy, and instantly join, the standard of any power they thought strong enough to occasion our downfall."

The opinion, too, of Mr. Adam, who says—

" The people would change masters to-morrow, without a struggle and without a sigh."

Every one of the authorities I have quoted is or has been a servant of the East India Company, and every one of them, save one, is now living. Westmacott, the political agent; Metcalf, formerly the acting governor general, and now the governor of Jamaica; the Hon. Mr. Shore, collector of taxes and commissioner; and Mr. Adam, a commissioner on the subject of education; and the words I have read are taken from the conclusion of his report. I have not quoted any thing, and I never will quote any thing but the testimony of the Company's servants against the Company themselves. (Applause.)

I have now, Sirs, dwelt upon the poverty of the people, and upon the causes of that poverty: upon the discontent of the people, and upon the insecurity of our dominion in India. I hope I have proved it to be the duty of the people of Great Britain to consider the condition and the claims of India. Hereafter, for I cannot do it now, I must look at the other part of the subject, and consider the interest of the people of this country to consider those claims and that condition. To-night I have neither time nor strength, nor you patience, to go into those details which will be better gone into at another time. But again I must remind you of your individual responsibility. Great impediments are to be removed: great efforts must be made, and those great efforts can only be made by great numbers, and the power of voluntary associations. (Loud applause.) A German poet has said—"Divide the thunder into single notes, and it becomes a lullaby for children—but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shakes the heavens."

I may not be able, perhaps, to remove every impediment that is placed before me, opposing my way like a mighty rock of granite; but I go and station myself beside that rock, and I cry to every passenger that comes along, "Help! help! help!" and one tries, and another tries, and a third and a fourth, till at last we succeed in putting the lever below the impediment, and it is rolled

away to the other side, and I gladly and willingly pursue my way to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I hasten to a conclusion. If, in the two addresses I have now delivered, I have been the honored instrument of leading you to feel a deeper interest in a land that is afar off, where dwell a myriad multitude of human beings, every one of whom lives beneath the sceptre of a Christian monarch, and claims kindred and citizenship with a Christian people—if I have begotten in any minds a desire to become more thoroughly acquainted with the subject under discussion—if I have led any to perceive, at length, what they owe to India, and what blessings they may bestow upon India, what advantages they may reap in return for the benevolent efforts they put forth on behalf of India—if I have quickened any of you into a consciousness of your responsibility—your dread accountableness to the God of nations, for the manner in which your wide-spread territory in the East is governed—if I have assisted to roll away any of the mists of prejudice or ignorance—if I have succeeded in bringing nearer to your view, and nearer to your regards, a country and a people hitherto almost unnoticed in the dim distance—if you are reflecting upon the fact, that a country which is not too distant to be discovered—not too distant to be made a mart for our merchandize, a home for our children, and a field for our warriors—not too distant to be spoiled, subjugated, and enslaved, is not—ought not to be too distant to be pitied, protected, and blest. (Tremendous cheers.) If in the bosoms of those in this assembly there are now rising feelings of patriotic shame, and Christian sympathy, and generous resolution—if even now there be those present, who are ready to enlist with me in the great and good work of regenerating India—then I have not labored in vain, nor spent my strength for naught—then I am rewarded—richly rewarded for any exertions I have been privileged to make

in this cause. Permit me to indulge the hope that it may be so : and receive my assurance that, while you are willing to cheer me on, I will not be found reluctant to toil—it will be my delight, as it will be my duty, publicly and privately, in season and out of season, to co-operate with you in working out the temporal deliverance of an injured people—while we look with humble confidence to Him who is the friend of the desolate and afflicted, and the patron of every good and righteous enterprise. I have done.

The eloquent lecturer sat down amid the renewed approbation of the audience.

As the audience were retiring, Mr. Thompson again rose and said, that before they separated he had a word of information to give them. He had entirely avoided going into the other branch of the question. He could not have done justice to it on that occasion, and he felt that he should be descending, if, after having urged the higher motives, he at once proceeded to urge the lower ones ; and yet there were influential motives, motives that would have to be considered and referred to, and he would go into them on Thursday evening next if all were well ; and their place of meeting would not be that beautiful building, so large, so comfortable, so spacious, so freely opened, as it had been freely opened—(very loud applause)—without money and without price—(renewed applause)—to the humblest voice ever uplifted in behalf of the oppressed ;—not there, but in another building, eligible too, spacious too—the Corn Exchange ; and although he had said he should talk about commerce, he would not have mentioned the word if he thought it would have scared from the meeting one single member of the sisterhood he saw before him. (Loud cheers.)—Let every lady who had a heart to pity, a tear to shed, or a hand to relieve the oppressed, come by all means.—(Hear, hear.) He would endeavor to popularize the subject as much as he could ; and although he earnestly

asked the ardent and he hoped the sincere co-operation of those gentlemen who were now there, and who were more able to accord more conspicuous service to this cause, while he asked them to be present he invited all, for all had an interest in this subject. It was not a question for a creed ; it was a question for the people of Great Britain ; for the Christian first ; for the statesman next ; and alike for the merchant and the manufacturer, the tradesman and the mechanic, the mariner and the peasant. It was the cause of justice, the cause of freedom, the cause of humanity. Get but justice for the people of India—he asked it not as a favor ; he demanded it as a right—get but justice for the people of India, and they would return a thousand fold into our own bosoms every benefit we could possibly confer upon them. (Applause.)

We have been given to understand that after the lecture was concluded, a meeting of about thirty of the leading and influential public men of Manchester was held, at which it was unanimously resolved to make a special application to the body of Friends for the use of the Meeting House for the remaining lectures. There is every prospect that the subject advocated by the lecturer will be taken up with spirit in Manchester.



### THIRD LECTURE.

The third of Mr. Thompson's lectures on British India was delivered at the Friends' Meeting House, Mount-street, on Thursday evening last, to an audience still more numerous than on the two former occasions. The lower part of the house was exceedingly well filled, and a great number of persons occupied both the side and front galleries. In the speaker's gallery Mr. Thompson was

supported, as before, by a great number of gentlemen of the highest respectability in point of commercial influence.

Mr. Thompson entered the Meeting House from the Committee-room accompanied by J. B. Smith, Esq., (President of the Chamber of Commerce,) Alderman Brooks, Alderman Kershaw, Alderman Callender, Alderman Cobden, Alderman Burd, Alderman Shuttleworth; and Messrs. Rawson, James Hall, junior, T. D. Williams, Thomas Binyon, S. Eveleigh, Peter Clare, B. Pearson, J. Dilworth, S. Neave, Isaac Crewdson, J. Crewdson, Rev. John Birt, Dr. Johns, W. Giles, William Fowden, John Mason, John Wood, &c. &c., and was received with marks of the most hearty approbation. About seven o'clock he commenced his lecture, which occupied about two hours and a quarter.

The Lecturer said—Ladies and Gentlemen—In former lectures I have solicited your attention to the present and actual condition of the native population of British India; and I have insisted upon the duty of a benevolent interference to improve both their character and their circumstances. I conceive it our duty to interpose between the natives of India and that destiny which seems to await them, unless there is some prompt and vigorous interposition on the part of this nation. This great duty is founded upon many important considerations, and among the rest upon the following:—We are their rulers, and we ought never to forget our political relation to that country. It is a conquered country; their fate is in our hands. Their government is absolute and arbitrary; although the population of that empire amounts to 100,000,000, they possess not the privilege of representation; they have no voice in the appointment of their government; they can exercise no control over the arrangements under which they live; they are ruled on the spot by six hundred and seventy-four civil functionaries, and by an army of 200,000 men, all of them officered by Europeans.

We live among them as among a conquered people ; we are sojourners there ; our tents are pitched to-day, and struck to-morrow. We are merely encamped in their midst, and yet we rule them. It was the expression of an eminent statesman, long connected with the administration of affairs in India, that we had obtained the country by the sword, and that we must continue to rule it by the sword, and to keep it by the sword. But the admission of this fact does not at all impair our obligation to seek the good of that people. On the contrary it increases our obligation, inasmuch as, having no share in their own affairs—not appointing their own government—having no direct or indirect control over the character of the laws, to which they are obliged to yield submission—the obligation upon us is the more heavy and imperative, to see that the laws and institutions which are given to that country are founded upon justice, and are administered with mildness and impartiality.

Then again, the crying necessities of that people impose upon us an obligation to render them relief, and to render that relief promptly and efficiently. I have called your attention to the poverty of the people : I have called your attention especially to the famines that are periodically desolating that fertile region. On a former evening when we assembled within these walls, so kindly granted for the purpose, I endeavored to draw, though conscious at the time that it was but a faint picture, yet I endeavored to draw a picture of the scenes of misery presented in that country during the previous year ; and since that occasion my eye has fallen upon the following fact :—The English magistrate at Agra, the capital of North Bengal, states in his official return (*Bombay Times*, June, 1839,) that “One hundred and forty-four children have been carried off by wolves, subsequent to the famine,” so completely had the famine annihilated every thing eatable in the country, but the children that were left to the survivors.

Then again, our ability to modify and ameliorate the character of the Indian government, and to improve the condition of that unhappy people, imposes upon us the most sacred obligation to interfere on their behalf. I have on other occasions spoken of the constitution of the East India Company : I have shown you also that the people of this kingdom have handed over, to a joint stock company, the government of a hundred millions of human beings : I have endeavored to demonstrate that they have not, by so doing, given up their power to control the East India Company ; on the contrary, they have created an obligation—an obligation most solemn—which at their peril they lose sight of, to look most strictly and unceasingly into the manner in which that joint stock company administers the affairs of India, lest, in the language of the celebrated Edmund Burke, the blood of millions be required at their hands, and it be found that they have bartered away for the base consideration of money, the liberties and the happiness of countless millions of the human race. (Loud applause.)

I have shown you that you are authorised to interfere ; that you have a constant right of appeal to the imperial parliament ; that there is in that omnipotent body an abiding power to make laws for India, or to repeal laws, or to modify laws, as though no charter act had ever been granted to the East India Company ; and that you are not therefore impertinently, and certainly not unnecessarily interfering in the affairs of that distant empire, when you meet, as you now meet, in public meetings for the purpose of considering the condition of that country, and of recommending to the legislature of your native land the exercise of that power and that prerogative which they never have—which they never can give up, and which they cannot lose sight of without disgrace to themselves, and serious disaster to the people so neglected. (Applause.)

Our duty, too, rests upon another foundation—our

*obligations* to India. Owe we nothing to that country? Is it nothing to have drawn from that country during fifty past years the enormous, the almost incredible sum of £1000,000,000 sterling? Is it nothing to have an empire as large as Europe which costs us nothing? The army sustained by the natives—every salary paid by themselves—every pension charged upon them—every allowance and assignment and dividend drawn from the hard earnings of an impoverished and all but exhausted people? Then consider the money annually remitted to this country. Between two and three millions are drawn and publicly accounted for, and appropriated to the division of dividends among the proprietors, to the payment of salaries here, and the paying off the interest of an accumulated debt. Then consider the posts of honor, trust and emolument, that have to be filled by persons who are drafted from this country to that, and who return by and by, like birds of prey and of passage, fattened by the riches of that land, to repose here in independence and wealth, far from the country in which they have made their riches! Then again, think of the bravery of the people of India displayed through a long series of years, and in the midst of most trying and critical circumstances, and invariably on our behalf. We have won India, not by the prowess of British arms alone—not by British discipline and British valor alone; it has been the virtue and the valor, and the constancy, and the loyalty, aye, and the confidence and affection of the people, the children of India, that have won so many unfading laurels upon the plains of Hindostan. (Hear, hear, and applause.) These things should never be forgotten; and while we remember what we owe to India, and the debt we are every day contracting to India, our sense of duty will be quickened, and we shall reproach ourselves for having done so little for a people who have done so much for us. (Applause.)

I urge to the discharge of this duty upon this ground

among others—that the natives of India are an *injured* people. The Rev. Dr. Duff, than whom there is not a more sincere lover of India—a man whose life, whether he traverses this country to awaken public feeling, or labors in India itself, is devoted to the good of India. That reverend gentleman made use of the following words before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the year before last :—

" Who can obliterate the long, black catalogue of treachery and plunder, devastation and death, that swells the revolting narrative of many of our earlier conquests ? Ah ! there have been deeds perpetrated by the sons of Britain on the plains of Hindostan,—deeds that, in number, cannot be reckoned up in order, deeds of unutterable infamy,—deeds that are engraven in characters of blood in the ineffaceable pages of history,—ayo, and registered, as an eternal memorial against us, in the book of God's remembrance ! "

I have not, as you will bear me witness, during the two past lectures, nor will it be my object to-night, degraded the East India Company in your eyes. I have not occupied your time or my own in dragging to light the deeds of darkness that have been perpetrated in India ; I have not spoken of broken treaties, of forgotten pledges, of immolated princes and princesses, of wholesale and stupendous robberies that have rendered those who have been guilty of them infamous for ever. No : I have granted, as I do grant, that the East India Company *may* be influenced by good intentions ; that they may desire the welfare of India ; nay, more, that they may devote themselves to the benefit of India. I will grant you that they may be the wisest, the justest, the most benevolent men that you can select from the body politic to govern India ; and when I have granted you all this and remember that they are but men ; that they live many thousands of miles from the country which they govern ; that their time is much occupied with home affairs—when I remember

these things I feel that we should be guilty of a gross and criminal dereliction of duty did we forget India when we appointed these men its governors ; did we not exercise a sleepless vigilance over all the affairs of a country which we claim as our own ? Let it be remembered in connexion with this part of the subject, that they justly complain we have done them much injury by the destruction of their manufactures—that we have undersold them in their own markets ; and that thousands and tens of thousands of individuals who were once accustomed to get their bread, and enough of it, by honest industry, are now reduced to indigence and mendicancy by the successful competition of our manufactures exported from this country, and carried into those markets which they once supplied. I blame not this country for this—there is no occasion to lament it for the future, if we will be just to that land. Summon up the spirit that is there—release them from the tyranny to which they are now subjected—send them into a field uncursed by a ruinous land-tax, and allow them to sit under their own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make them afraid ; then, will they reap a bountiful harvest and send it to our shores, and are thereby made rich, we will send them back the vegetable substance they have reared in the shape of manufactured articles, and thus our advantages shall be reciprocal and our joy shall be one. (Loud applause.)

I infer our duty to interfere, from our *ability* to do them good. Were our tears hopeless ones—Were our regrets all in vain—I might be accused of wasting your time ; and even then I should be far better occupied than in discoursing upon the thousand and one other topics that are aloof from our every day interests, and which come not home to the affections ; the discussion of which do not edify the moral feelings, but happily, we are able to do them good ; we can do them good by adopting liberal and just commercial principles ; we can do them good by the exercise of the omnipotent political power which heaven

permits us to exercise on their behalf; we can do them good by presenting them with that knowledge which they require, and by humbling ourselves to receive from them that knowledge which, sunken as they are, they are not impotent to give to us. We can give them institutions that they need—and above all we can give them a religion which at present they do not possess or enjoy; and by doing this we can display at once our power and our mercy—and our power in our mercy; and preserve a kingdom by kindness which we are likely to lose by coercion. (Loud applause.) I wish I could impress this upon my countrymen—would that I could make them feel at once their duty to do good to India; and their ability, which creates their duty.

"Britain! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend,  
On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend,  
High Arbitress! to thee her hopes are given,  
Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of Heaven;  
In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,  
Or big with blessings, or o'ercast with woes;  
And for ages shall thy mandate keep,  
Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.  
Oh! to thy god-like destiny arise!  
Awake and meet the purpose of the skies!  
Wide as thy sceptre waves let India learn,  
What virtues round the shrine of empire burn."

Having said so much in reference to our duty in this matter, I proceed to consider the advantages to be derived from pursuing the course which our duty prescribes. I know that many who hear me will think that this is a needless undertaking. They know, they feel that to do right is to do well—that honesty is the best policy—that an adherence to the laws of nature in trade and in commerce, as well as in other matters, is always the safest, the wisest, and the best course. But still, it may be advantageous to discuss this principle in detail; to show that our duty and our interest go hand in hand on this question—that they are interwoven and inseparable—that

to bless India is to enrich, to strengthen, to exalt ourselves—that, if in this field we scatter, we shall assuredly increase—that we shall realize the truth of that assurance given us in the inspired page, that "It is more blessed to give than to receive." (Hear, hear, and applause.)

My proposition then is this, that the performance of our duty to India is coincident with the advancement, in the most true and liberal sense of that word, of the manufacturing and commercial interests of our common country; and that were we prosecuting in an enlightened manner those interests, we should be promoting immeasurably the welfare of the people of India.

In other words, to remove the hindrances to the prosperity of the people of India is to open a limitless field for honorable and profitable commercial intercourse.

Revive the drooping energies of a hundred millions of fellow subjects, dispel the enchantment which reigns over India, banish the evil spirits of monopoly and prejudice, and lo ! a new world appears ; a world so vast, so rich, so capable of receiving all that you require from them, or can bestow upon them, that were you forsaken of and excluded from all nations beside, you would have an exhaustless supply of foreign merchandise, and an ever increasing market for home manufactures. (Immense applause.)

Political justice to India, is commercial justice to England. The prosperity of India and the prosperity of England are one and indivisible ; the day that witnesses India well governed, her people happy, her agriculturalists well employed, the fruits of her soil reaped, her vast resources developed, that day beholds England on the proudest summit of her greatness as a manufacturing and commercial nation. [Applause.]

I have said that India is capable of producing almost every article of tropical growth ; that labor is cheaper in India than in any other part of the world ; that the country is accessible ; that it is now brought near by means

of communication which enable the merchant to send his despatches and receive his answers within four months, and that the physical and moral elevation of the immense population of India depend mainly upon the amount of encouragement given to their agricultural pursuits.

Now, having said this, let us see what proportion of tropical produce brought into this country, and required by this country, (and much more would be required and consumed, were the produce cheaper, as it will be, when justice shall be done to India;) let us see how much of this produce is derived from India. I am about to quote a statement made by Mr. Montgomery Martin, in the Court of the East India proprietors a short time ago—a statement, the accuracy of which has not been impugned :—

**" QUANTITY AND VALUE OF ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO ENGLAND, THE WHOLE OF WHICH MAY BE OBTAINED FROM BRITISH INDIA.**

1. Sugar, 4,500,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt. . . . .	£4,500,000
2. Molasses, 500,000 cwts., at 10s. per cwt. . . . .	250,000
3. Rum, 5,000,000, gallons, at 1s. per gall. . . . .	250,800
4. Coffee, 40,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb. . . . .	1,000,000
5. Tea, 40,000,000 lbs., at 1s. per lb. . . . .	2,000,000
6. Cocoa, 3,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb. . . . .	75,000
7. Tobacco, 50,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb. . . . .	1,250,000
8. Cotton, 400,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb. . . . .	10,000,000
9. Indigo, 7,000,000 lbs., at 3s. 6d. per lb. . . . .	1,225,000
10. Saltpetre, 300,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt. . . . .	300,000
11. Rice, 300,000 cwts., at 10s. per cwt. . . . .	159,000
12. Pepper, 7,000,000 lbs., at 4d. per lb. . . . .	125,000
13. Cinnamon and Cassia, 1,500,000 lbs., at 6s. per lb. . . . .	450,000
14. Ginger, 25,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt. . . . .	25,000
15. Spices (general,) official value . . . . .	250,000
16. Cochineal, 600,000 lbs. at 5s. per lb. . . . .	150,000
17. Wool, 60,000,000 lbs., at 1s. per lb. . . . .	3,000,000
18. Hemp and Flax, 2,000,000 cwts. at 20s.	

per cwt. . . . .	2,000,000
19. Vegetable Oils, 6,000,000 gallons, at 1s. per gallon . . . . .	300,000
20. Hides, 400,000 cwts., at 30s. per cwt.	720,000
21. Skins, untanned or dressed, No. 4,000,- 000, at 6d. each . . . . .	100,000
22. Linseed, 3,500,000 bushels, at 30s. per qr. . . . .	600,000
23. Tallow, 1,000,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt. . . . .	1,000,000
24. Dye Woods, &c., official value . . . . .	500,000
25. Drugs and Gums, ditto . . . . .	500,000
26. Sundries . . . . .	1,000,000
Total . . . . .	£34,720,000

The total value of these and other tropical productions imported is, you perceive, £34,720,000 of which we receive from India to the value of 4,500,000. Now I heard it stated in the Court of Proprietors that all of these articles could be obtained of first rate quality, and to an indefinite extent from India, and the statement was not denied by any individual in the Court, although the principal part of the directors, and a large number of the proprietors, were present. Now let us see what proportion is obtained from British India.

" Of 40,500,000 cwts. of sugar imported into the United Kingdom, British India, including Ceylon, contributes but 200,000 cwts., not half the quantity which the small island of Mauritius exports, and only equal in quantity to the exports of St. Vincent, which is but 18 miles long by 10 broad.

" Of 500,000 cwts. molasses imported, British India and Ceylon send but 30 cwts.

" Of 5,000,000 gallons of rum imported, British India and Ceylon contribute 40,000 gallons.

" Of 40,000,000 lbs. of coffee, British India and Ceylon send but 9,000,000 lbs.

" Of 400,000,000 lbs. of cotton, British India and Ceylon send but 50,000,000 lbs.

" Of 50,000,000 lbs. tobacco, British India and Ceylon send but 50,000 lbs.

" Of 40,000,000 lbs. of tea, British India sends a few hundred weight, although the leaf grows spontaneously, and may be cultivated to any extent.

" Of 3,000,000 lbs. of cocoa, British India sends none to England.

" Of 6,000,000 lbs. of silk, British India sends 1,500,000 lbs., and that exportation is owing to the East India Company.

" Of 60,000,000 lbs. of sheep's wool, British India sends but 1,000,000 lbs.

" Of 2,000,000 cwts. of flax and hemp, British India sends but 20,000 cwts.

" Of 3,500,000 bushels linseed, British India sends but 300,000 bushels, although it is cheaper and better in Hindostan than in any part of the world.

" Of 6,000,000 gallons vegetable oils, British India sends but 120,000 gallons.

" Of 400,000 cwts. of hides, British India sends but 40,000 cwts.

" Of 1,000,000 cwts. tallow, British India sends only 500 cwts.

" Of 600,000 lbs. cochineal, British India sends but 200 lbs.

" Of 14,000 loads of the celebrated teak wood which England imports, British India, which abounds with it, sends but 300 loads; the remainder is furnished by the negroes of Western Africa."

From a statement recently drawn up, and approaching, I believe, to accuracy, it appears that in consequence of neglecting India and preferring other parts of the world, in almost all of which labor is obtained from slaves, we entail upon ourselves, in the shape of an extra cost, the following loss, viz:—

On Sugar . . . . .	£5,657,800
" Cotton . . . . .	8,151,679
" Silk . . . . .	1,800,000
" Rum . . . . .	249,353
" Coffee . . . . .	774,998
" Tobacco . . . . .	1,040,625
" Linseed . . . . .	514,286
" Flax . . . . .	2,216,160
	£20,403,901

Exclusive of Rice, Indigo, Oils, Dies, Hemp, Drugs, &c. &c."

" MANNER IN WHICH IS EXPENDED MORE THAN ONE HALF OF THE ABOVE SUM OF £20,403,901, LEVIED ANNUALLY UPON THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN; OR, REASONS

**WHY IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY PERSON IN THE UNITED KINGDOM TO ESPOUSE THE CAUSE OF INDIA.**

It is now proved that 375,000 Africans are annually sacrificed as follows :—

Perish in the passage . . . . .	37,500
Die from seizure, inaroh, detention, &c. . . . .	187,500
Survive and are sold in the Slave States' and Colonies of America, &c. . . . .	150,000
At \$150 a head . . . . .	\$22,500,000
At 4s. 6d. to the dollar, . . . . .	£5,062,500

This fact is attested by two testimonials published by Mr. Foxwell Buxton; one a letter to himself, dated May, 1838, from Gov. Maclean, of Cape Coast, stating that the net profit upon a slave is from 150 to 200 dollars, when sold in Cuba and the Brazils, the other, the calculation of the Sierra Leone Commissioners, who give for an outlay of 100 dollars, a return of 180.—*Buxton on the Slave Trade*, pp. 89 and 90.

The trade yields, therefore, a profit so enormous, as to make it morally certain that so long as this profit can be got, no power on earth will put down the traffic; nor can any princes or states, however well intentioned, enforce slave treaties.

East India free labor costs 3d. a day, African slave labor 2s. The fund for paying slave labor, and the fund required for buying slaves must, . . . is evident, be the money paid for slave-grown produce.—This fund is mainly derived, <i>directly and indirectly</i> , from the excess of price paid by Great Britain to the slave cotton growers of America for their cotton, amounting as shown above to . . . £8,151,679	
To the slave tobacco growers for their tobacco . . .	£1,040,625
To the slave coffee growers for their coffee . . .	£ 774,998
Add annual cost, in money only, of the squadron fruitlessly employed on the slave coasts* . . .	£ 650,000
	£10,617,302

But cotton in the United States being more profitable than sugar, the United States resort to Cuba and the Brazils, for onehalf of the sugar required for the population. This quantity now amounts to about 50,000 tons annually, costing, at £42 a ton . . . £2,150,000

As the wants of America will keep pace with her doubt-

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\* " Mr. M'Queen rates the expense connected with the suppression of the slave trade, as between £600,000 or £700,000 per annum to this country, and he calculates that the total expense since 1808, exceeds £20,000,000, independently of the compensation money of £20,000,000."

ling population, and as she will never want the means of paying for their supply with the money she is sure of receiving from Great Britain for her cotton, it results that a constant, regular, and rapidly-increasing demand is created for the slave grown sugar of Cuba and the Brazils; and with this demand, a regularly increasing demand for more slaves, by whose labor alone the sugar required can there be grown. Hence the vast increase of the slave trade, proved to have taken place of late years, and hence the known aggravated condition of the slave."

So much for our neglect of India! (Hear, hear.) The truth of the statements now made, might, I believe, be fully verified by a careful inquiry into the capacity of India, and the cost of free labor in that country. Hereafter, I shall make *the anti-slavery aspect of the British India question* the exclusive topic of a lecture. (Loud applause.) You see, however, that according to the calculations I have quoted, from which you may make any fair deduction, that we are amongst the most powerful and munificent upholders of slavery and the slave trade. Is it not humiliating?—is it not deeply distressing to reflect that, so large an amount of the money, mechanical skill, physical energy, and manufacturing enterprise of Great Britain, are employed in the support of systems so utterly opposed to the precepts of Christianity, and the laws, the constitution, and the genius of the people of this country? In vain the spirit of philanthropy is displayed, while the principles of our commerce thus stand in an antagonist position. Could we get our commerce placed upon sound principles—could we get men to look to *Africa*, where the free negro would grow cotton and sugar upon his native soil, instead of to *America*, where the negro toils in slavery, upon a land to which he is a stranger, and amongst a people by whom he is abhorred—or, could we get the attention of our merchants turned to the plains of *India*, and the banks of the Ganges, where men, by millions, wait to be employed in the grateful task

of raising from a fertile soil those fruits of a tropical climate which have become articles of necessity amongst us, we should effect, in the condition of millions of men in *three quarters of the globe*, one of the most happy and glorious revolutions ever witnessed in the history of the species. "O, that men were wise, that they understood this"—that they would cease to act on false doctrines, and suffer the voice of mercy to call them back to the simple and life-giving principles of a political economy, founded upon a just acquaintance with the constitution of man, and the great laws which should regulate commercial intercourse. (Hear.) Now, if it be true that we lose twenty millions of money annually by consuming the produce of other countries, in preference to the produce of India, then we annually sacrifice more than the whole revenue derived from India; for, by the last returns, it appears that their gross revenue is only eighteen millions, fifty-eight thousand, four hundred and twelve pounds sterling. Then, again, look at the shipping of England; will it be believed that, trading with the immense country during the year 1838, there were only 321 ships—I speak of this country and India; while at the port of Stockton on-Tees the amount of shipping in the same year amounted to 8027!! Is there a parallel to this folly,—this infatuation,—this wickedness, in the world. (Hear, hear, and applause.) And if these facts were not demonstrable by figures, would it be believed that we were shutting our eyes all the day long to the value of this country, not only in a commercial, but in a moral point of view; and fostering at the expense of millions of pounds per annum, the vilest and the most oppressive system of slavery that ever was perpetrated under the sun! (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Why should we prefer New Orleans to Bombay? Are the merchants so much more honorable? Is their cotton so much more pure? Does it come to us unstained? In one sense it may; but in another sense it comes to us crimsoned with

the blood of two millions of slaves! (Loud applause.) Why should we prefer Brazil to Madras or Bengal—our own territories? Is sugar so much better coming from the Spanish islands, where the masters are tyrants and the people slaves, than in coming from our own territories, grown and cultivated by millions of free-men! Sirs, the misery entailed—the crime committed—the extent to which righteous principles are violated by our present system cannot be computed. I come, however, to that branch of the subject most interesting to the public of this most populous and wealthy district, because connected with the manufacture for which it is so widely celebrated. (Hear, hear.)

The question—Can India supply this country with the cotton of commerce? is one of great importance. That it has fallen to my lot to discuss this subject in this assembly I regret, but I will do my best to give an answer to the question. (Applause.)

I shall be satisfied if I find the attention now being bestowed upon this subject followed by inquiries; I shall be satisfied if I break up the fallow ground, if I thaw the frost of indifference, if I make men look one another in the face to-morrow on the exchange, and ask "why do we not obtain our cotton from India?" When this shall be done, when the men of this great city shall, at the corner of the streets, and in their counting-rooms, and on the exchange, begin to discuss this question, and look with eyes but half open to the Indian part of the question, I fear not the result; for very soon we shall find that while by our capital we have made America the greatest but the guiltiest of nations, by a transfer of that capital to India, we should make India not the guiltiest but the most happy, and one at least of the greatest of nations. (Applause.)

A constant and sufficient supply of the raw material is essential not only to the prosperity of the people of this neighborhood, but the prosperity of the country.

I am indebted to an interesting work just published, entitled "Manchester as it is," for some valuable particulars respecting the present magnitude of the cotton trade; and so far as I have been able to look to other sources for information, I find the statements there made most accurate.

The consumption of cotton in Great Britain during 1838, was 460,000 millions of pounds weight. The following will show the cost of producing the cotton manufactures of the country :—

Cost of raw material, . . . . .	£19,604,166
343,701 Spinners, average wages 10s. 5 1-2d. per week, . . . . .	8,659,593
90,000 Power-loom weavers, average wa- ges 12s. 7d. per week, . . . . .	2,946,000
316,500 Hands employed in the bob- binet and hosiery trade, . . . . .	1,650,000
360,000 Printers, average wages 10s. per week, . . . . .	9,360,000
280,000 Hand-loom Weavers, average wages 12s. per week, . . . . .	8,596,000
Machinery, interest on capital, &c. &c. . . . .	12,087,500
<hr/>	
Total number of persons employed, about	1,500,000

It may not be uninteresting to look back a few years and mark the rise of this trade which has now reached so vast an extent. I am indebted, to a considerable extent, to a very excellent work on the history of the cotton manufacture of Great Britain, a work of great industry, profound research, and most excellent arrangement, by Edward Baines, jun., Esq., of Leeds. It will be interesting to those who wish to examine this subject, to know that in that work is contained a great amount of useful historical and statistical information. "England," says Mr. Baines, "was among the latest of all countries to receive the cotton manufacture. This species of industry

was known in each of the other quarters of the globe earlier than in Europe; and in Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and Turkey, before it was introduced into England."

"The woolen and linen manufactures have existed in this country from a very early period, and both of them were carried on in Lancashire before the cotton manufacture, for which they prepared the way. England has been immemorially famous for its wool, of which it produced abundance before any woolens, except of the coarsest kind, were made here: the wool was then chiefly exported to Flanders, where that manufacture was in an extremely flourishing state. Manchester was the seat of the woolen manufacture as early as the reign of Edward II."

Then in reference to the circumstance of their being called cottons, he says—"The application of the term "cottons" to a woolen manufacture is (also) expressly mentioned by Camden, who, speaking of Manchester in 1590, says—This town excels the towns immediately around it in handsomeness, populousness, woolen manufacture, market-place, church and college; but did much more excel them in the last age, as well by the glory of its woolen cloths, which they call Manchester cottons, as by the privilege of sanctuary, which the authority of parliament, under Henry the 8th, transferred to Chester."—Then he says—"It is not a little singular that a manufacture, destined afterwards to eclipse all merely "the glory" of the old "Manchester cottons," but that of all other manufactures, should thus have existed in name long before it existed at all in fact. It has been conjectured, that the word "cottons" was a corruption of "coatings," but it is very evident that the name was adopted from the foreign cottons, which, being fustians and other heavy goods, were imitated in woolen by our manufacturers." It is manifest, says Mr. Baines, that in 1641 the cotton manufacture had become well estab-

lished in Manchester. The spread of the manufacture, however, does not appear to have been very rapid.

In the present day, when "*Manchester men*" are regarded as merchant princes, it is amusing to look back to the middle of the 17th century, when a gang of Manchester chapmen used to take their merchandise upon pack-horses and make a circuit of the surrounding towns, bringing home sheep's wool for the makers of "orsted" yarn, and, when at home, participating in the ordinary labors of their servants.

Towards the latter end of the 17th century, and at the beginning of the 18th, there were considerable importations of Indian cotton goods—calicoes, muslins, and chintzes, and the consequence was a loud outcry amongst manufacturers, which prevailed with parliament to exclude them by heavy penalties. You will pardon me, perhaps, if I illustrate the spirit of this period by a reference to some curious extracts, from pamphlets published at the time, and furnished by Mr. Baines. This part of the lecture is not without its moral.

In 1678 a pamphlet was issued under the title of "The Ancient Trades decayed and revived again." Hear how the author weeps over the fallen fortunes of woollen fabrics in this country! On page 77, this author says:—

"This trade (the woollen) is very much hindered by our own people, who do wear many foreign commodities instead of our own; as may be instanced in many particulars, viz:—instead of green sey, that was wont to be used for children's frocks, is now used painted and India-stained and striped calico; and instead of a perpetuana or shalloon to lyne men's coats with, is used sometimes a glazed calico, which in the whole is not above twelve-pence cheaper, and abundantly worse. (Laughter.) And sometimes is used a Baugale, that is brought from India, both for lynings to coats, and for petticoats too; yet our English ware is better and cheaper than this, only it is thinner for the summer. To remedy this, it would be

necessary to lay a very high impost upon all such commodities as these are, and that no calicoes or other sort of linen be suffered to be glazed." [Laughter.]

The celebrated Do Foe, the immortalized author of *Robinson Crusoe*, it appears, joined in the general hue and cry against the cotton goods of India. Hear his pathetic strains :—

"The general fancy of the people runs upon East India goods to that degree, that the chintzes and painted calicoes, which before were only made use of for carpets, quilts, &c., and to clothe children and ordinary people, became now the dress of our ladies ; and such is the power of a mode, as we saw our persons of quality dressed in India carpets, which, but a few years before, their chambermaids would have thought too ordinary for them. The chintz was advanced from lying upon their floors to their backs, from the foot-cloth to the petticoat ; and even the queen herself at this time was pleased to appear in China and Japan, I mean China silks and calico. Nor was this all ; but it crept into houses, our closets, and bed-chambers ; curtains, cushions, chairs, and at last beds themselves were nothing but calicoes or Indian stuffs ; and, in short, almost every thing that used to be made of wool or silk, relating either to the dress of women or to the furniture of our houses, was supplied by the Indian trade."

Another writer, the author of a volume entitled a *Plan of the English Commerce*, ascribes the evil to a cause for which he candidly acknowledges he knows no remedy, namely—the will of the ladies. [Laughter.] You will perceive, my friends, when I read the next extract, how possible it is, in more senses than one, to be under petticoat government. [Laughter.]

"Two things amongst us (says this heart-broken man) are ungovernable—our passions and our fashions. Should I ask the ladies whether they would dress by law, or

clothes by act of parliament, they would ask me whether they were to be statute fools, and to be made pagodas and pictures of?—whether the box was to be set up for our jest, and the parliament had nothing to do but make Indian queens of them?—that they claim English liberty as well as the men; and as they expect to do what they please, and say what they please, so they will wear what they please, and dress how they please. It is true that the liberty of the Indian, their passion for their fashion, has been frequently injurious to the manufacturers of England, and is still so in some cases; but I do not see no easy remedy for that as some other things of the like nature."

A century, however, has wrought a marvellous revolution: it has turned the tables upon the oriental. Now, instead of ruining our manufacturers by the introduction of his cheap and exquisitely bountiful fabrics, we are bringing him to a perpetual end by the exportation of our cotton piece goods and muslins, with which all competition of manual labor is utterly vain. It is not my intention to describe the process by which this revolution has been brought about; that would take me back to the commencement of the era of invention, and I should have to talk upon subjects with which I am not familiar. I thought, however, that a contrast, however brief and imperfect, of the present state of the trade, with the trade in the seventeenth century might be appropriate. In 1697, the amount of cotton wool imported was 1,970,359 lbs. The official value of cotton goods of all kinds exported during the year was the magnificent amount of £5,915. In 1704, the importation of cotton had increased to 3,870,392 lbs., and the exportation of cotton goods to £200,354 sterling. What was the importation of cotton in 1838? As I have told you, 460 millions of pounds weight; and the exportation of manufactured cotton goods amounted to £16,700,463; of cotton yarns, to £7,430,552; making the sum total of declared value,

£24,131,050. It may not be amiss to discriminate between the countries from which this cotton was imported : America sent upwards of 800,000 bales per annum ; Brazil, upwards of 100,000 bales ; the East Indies, 140,000 ; Egypt, 40,000 ; and other places, 30,000 ; making a sum total of 1,100,000 bales of cotton, 300 or rather 400 lbs. per bale. According to Mr. Armstrong's tables, I find the imports of cotton in 1837 were—from America, 844,068 bales ; Brazil, 116,256 ; East India, 145,105 ; Egypt, 39,234 ; and other sorts, 29,451 ; making a total of 1,174,114 bales.

Now look back for a moment. In 1784, cotton from America was unknown. During that year an American vessel came into the port of Liverpool, and landed eight bags of cotton, calling it American cotton, and they were seized ; it being utterly incredible that America should have sent cotton to this country ; but in 1834, just fifty years afterwards, we received from that same country 731,456 bales. You will perceive, then, that a large portion of our supply is from America, either from the United States or from Brazil. The East Indies do not send much more than Brazil, and only one-third as much as the United States of America. Now you well know how cotton is produced in the United States ; that some six or seven hundred thousand human beings are kept constantly at work to grow it ; and that they are slaves in the worst and most absolute sense of the word ; that to continue this trade Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, are great slave-rearing states ; and there is reason to believe that were it not for the encouragement given to the cultivation of this branch of agricultural industry, by the very large and increasing demand of this country, and the extraordinary prices which our manufacturers are compelled to pay, slavery would decline, and soon become utterly extinct, throughout the whole of the United States of America. [Applause.] The cotton of Brazil is produced in precisely the same way. The empire of

Brazil contains more than two millions of slaves—[hear] and the chief part of the slave trade between Africa and the continent of America is carried on with Brazil, the slaves being boldly imported into the commercial capital, Rio Janeiro. I, sirs, am not jealous of the greatness of America. God grant that she may remain great! I only wish that she may be as good as she is great; I only wish that her mercy may be commensurate with her power; I ask no more than that she take her foot from the necks of her fellow citizens; that she open her prison doors, and let the captives go free; that she reap her harvest, not by forced and uncompensated labor, but through the willing industry of remunerated men.—[Applause.] Let her but free her slaves, and then welcome her cotton; welcome every unstained production that can be sent to us from the four quarters of the globe. Here we stand, in the centre of the ocean, and as freely as that ocean beats upon our shores—as freely as yonder fleecy clouds glide over our green country—as freely as the winds blow—as free as God is bountiful to all, and makes mutual interchange and mutual dependence the laws by which he governs this universe,—so free do I desire the trade of America, and the trade of all other countries with this country to be. [Applause.] I only ask if the principles of their trade be righteous; and, if they be, God speed their commerce, and open wide, forever, be our ports. [Loud applause.] [A piece of paper was here handed to the lecturer.] My friends, I am exceedingly glad that this bit of paper has been put into my hands, requesting me to pause for a few moments, while a collection is made through the meeting. I gladly avail myself of this pause, and I hope you will, with not less gladness, grant it.—The collection is to defray the expenses incurred by holding these meetings, and to assist the operations of the British India Society recently formed in London. I believe that those gentlemen who sit about me will freely grant that our object is a great and good one—[hear,

hear, from those appealed to]—and however humble the instruments at present employed—however obscure their names, or inferior their talent, yet they have espoused a truly noble cause. We are seeking not only the improvement of India—our primary end—but the exaltation and prosperity of our country, by increasing its commercial intercourse with one of the most rich and promising portions of the earth. If, therefore, you aid this society to diffuse its information through the length and breadth of the land; if you aid me, as the organ of the British India Association, to bring out all the facts connected with this great question, whether they bear upon the literature, the revenue, or the fiscal regulations of the country, the character of the people, or the peculiar constitution of their government;—the time will come when the veil will be withdrawn which has hitherto shrouded this mighty and matchless country from our eyes. We shall look to wonder, and wonder to admire, and love will succeed to admiration; and, while we are thus filled with equal surprise and gladness at the disclosures we shall be sure to make, we shall avail ourselves, by sound and practical measures, of the advantages thus presented; and, while we are raising the head of the neglected Hindoo, we shall be making busy the hands, and full the pockets, and cheerful the countenances of our artizans at home. This is the cause of the philanthropist, of the capitalist, of the mariner, of the man who loves the gospel which has blessed his own shores; and, in proportion as we enter into the spirit of this cause, in precisely that proportion will other great ends be accomplished. [Applause.]

During the progress of the collection, Mr. Alderman Brooks made humorous remarks on the best mode of collecting, and said he should be happy to give five guineas, and more if it were needed. [Applause.] Another donation was announced “From a friend to the Society,” of ten guineas. The collection being over, Mr. Thompson resumed:—

Having said so much, ladies and gentlemen, respecting the importance of the cotton manufactures of our country, you will have already perceived—a constant, a certain, a sufficient, and a cheap supply of raw cotton must be a matter deserving of the most earnest consideration. [Hear, hear.] Now we are certainly not at this moment in circumstances the most comfortable and secure with regard to our supply of cotton.—Hear.—Unfavorable winds may stagnate the trade of this district. A war between the two countries, which Heaven avert! but which is within the bounds of possibility; for civil and polished and christian nations have gone to war, and even America and England have been at war,—I trust for the last time; but, sirs, as it is a possible thing, as it is one of those contingencies which the wise man will contemplate, however remote and improbable,—a war then might cut off our supplies. Then, as I said before, stagnation; then starvation; then discontent; then—that which I will not anticipate, which I will not describe; hoping and believing that the wisdom and the patriotism and the energy of this country will be early enlisted in the cause I now advocate, and avert those catastrophes which are too gloomy to be brought near and contemplated closely to-night. Then again, our supply of cotton is dependent upon the forced industry and good conduct of whom? Of some two millions and a half of slaves. And slaves have rebelled; and I doubt not, slaves will rebel again. And they may rebel in the United States of America. Even New Orleans may see the fires of insurrection lighted up around. Every American planter treads upon the bosom of a volcano; and if there be, as there will be, an increase of light—if the slaves of America apprehend and appreciate, as I believe they soon will, their inherent and indefeasible right to liberty, their perfect equality, in the sight of Heaven, with the master who rules them—cheers—the time may come when they may refuse to give the sweat of the brow, without the hire, of

the laborer ; and the master may find, not the industrious slave watering with his tears, and fanning with his sighs, his cotton plantation ; but standing erect, the fire of manhood in his eyes, the love of liberty in his heart, and the weapon of death in his hand. And then, my friends, where will be your cotton ? (Hear.) Where, then, your tall, aspiring, *smoking* chimneys ! (Laughter) Where your untiring and unmurinuring machinery ? Where, then, your busy population ? All, my friends, would then be dreariness and desolation ; and all would be attributable, not to the sterility of this earth, which God has blessed, and which, from nearly every rood and acre of her superficial extent, would give you the articles you require ; but the cause must be sought, and would be found in your long-continued blindness to the capacity of your own varied and fertile territory in India, whose teeming population, and whose exhaustless soil, would ever have given enough and to spare. (Applause.) You are, then, at the mercy of the winds ; you are at the mercy of the waves ; you are at the mercy of the slaves, and you are also at the mercy of whom ? Of men far worse than slaves, at least in my humble opinion—the gambling, monopolising, busy, meddling, plotting cotton speculators of America. (Several rounds of applause.) Yes, you are at their mercy ; they have harnessed you ; they have put you to their car, and General George M'Duffie, whose fame I may have celebrated, even within these walls, in days gone by—George M'Duffie, late Governor of South Carolina, the king of the nullifiers, and the pet of the slave-holders, is the prime minister of the cotton confederacy of America, and is now dragging Manchester at his chariot-wheels. (Applause.) Will you remain at the mercy of such circumstances ? The waves you cannot control ; you cannot say to them, as their Maker did,—“ Hitherto shall ye come, but no further ;” but you may say to India, “ Give us cotton ;” and India will reply, “ Cotton will we give you in abundance ; and we will

take from you all that ingenuity, directing machinery, can manufacture; we will clothe ourselves in your fine-spun cottons, while you take from us the produce of our rich and fertile fields." (Hear, and applause.) Why, then, do you not do justice to other parts of the world? I will mention two facts to show how soon cotton may be raised in countries where cotton was never raised before, or at least to any great extent. I am indebted to a friend who has travelled within the last few years in Egypt for the following fact:—In 1820, a solitary Frenchman in some part of Egypt, dropped a cotton-seed into his garden. Up came the cotton tree. What was the consequence? In 1823, three years after that, that same country produced and sold 150,000 bags of cotton. (Hear.) Take another fact. In the year 1830, there was a large trade in salt between Bombay and the centre of the district of Berar, and a great cotton-growing country in India; and very large numbers of oxen were sent, laden with salt, over a country 450 or 500 miles in extent, into Berar, where they left the salt and came back empty.—Again they went, and again they came back empty.—For years, and perhaps for ages, this trade had been going on, and the oxen had always returned empty. At last it occurred to the mind of a far-seeing man in Bombay, that peradventure these same oxen that carried the salt to Berar might bring cotton out of Berar; and the very next year after this had passed through his mind, ten thousand loads of cotton were brought from Omrawuttee to Bombay; and, in 1836, no fewer than 90,000 loads, of 240 lbs. each, were thus brought out of the cotton district to the market of Bombay.

But let us look a little more closely to British India, and ascertain, if we can, what prospect we have of obtaining cotton from that country. Do you ask, "Can India grow cotton?" Thousands of years unite to give you an answer, and that answer is "yes." Three centuries and a half before the Christian era we find Arrian

describing the East Indians as wearing garments made of a substance which grew upon trees, of a texture whiter and finer than flax; and we find Pliny and Strabo speaking of the trade in the plain and figured muslins and calicoes of India, carried on with Persia and Egypt. Between one and two hundred millions of human beings have been clothed in cotton in India—from the remotest period of antiquity—in cotton the growth of their own soil.

"A Hindoo in comfortable circumstances requires at least two suits of clothes annually, containing fifteen yards of yard-wide muslin; and the middle and lower classes, when in work and employ, nearly as much of coarse cloth. We may then calculate what quantity is required for clothing only; but when we add to this, that *sheeting, towels, wrappers, quilts, wadding, carpets, curtains, blinds, canopies, and tents*, all of which are extensively employed in a tropical climate, and during eight months of constant sunshine and heat, together with what cotton is used for *stuffing pillows, furniture, beds*, and even for making *ropes*, we may imagine the enormous demand there is for the article; though, unless it could be exhibited in a statistical shape, we really can have no definite idea of the magnitude of the supply of cotton which is required for India alone."

The answer is thus given to the question "Can India grow cotton?" Nor is their skill in manufacturing the cotton less remarkable than the fertility of the soil, and the excellence of the raw material:—

"The Indians," says Mr. Baines, "have, in all ages, maintained an unapproached and almost incredible perfection in their fabrics of cotton. Some of their muslins might be thought the work of fairies, or of insects, rather than of men."

Tavernier, a merchant, as well as a traveller and an historian, speaks of the muslins of Calicut as so fine as

hardly to be felt in the hand, and the thread, when spun, as scarcely discernible, and that the skin appeared as plainly through it as if quite naked. The late Rev. Wm. Ward, the missionary to India, makes use of the following language in describing the Dacca muslins :

" At Shantee-pooree and Dhaka, muslins are made which sell at a hundred rupees a piece. The ingenuity of the Hindoos in this branch of manufacture is wonderful. Persons with whom I have conversed on this subject say, that at two places in Bengal, Sonar-ga and Vicrum-pooree, muslins are made by a few families so exceedingly fine, that four months are required to weave one piece, which sells at four or five hundred rupees. When this muslin is laid on the grass, and the dew has fallen upon it, it is no longer discernible."

If I am not tiring your patience, I will read a short extract, describing the mode of manufacturing this muslin. [Applause.] It is thus minutely given by Mr. Walters :—

" The division of labor was carried to a great extent in the manufacture of fine muslins. In spinning the very fine thread, more especially, a great degree of skill was attained. It was spun with the fingers on a tukwah, or fine steel spindle, by young women, who could only work during the early part of the morning, while the dew was on the ground; for such was the extreme tenuity of the fibre, that it would not bear manipulation after sunrise. One rupee of cotton could thus be spun into a thread 80 cubits long, which was sold by the spinners at one rupee eight annas per sicca weight. The ruffooghurs, or darners, were also particularly skilful. They could remove an entire thread from a piece of muslin, and replace it by one of a finer texture. The cotton used for the finest thread was grown in the immediate neighborhood of Dacca, more especially about Sunergond. Its fibre is too short, however, to admit of its being worked up by any

except that most wonderful of all machines—the human hand. ‘The art of making the very fine muslin fabrics is now lost, and pity it is that it should be so.’”

On this part of my subject I address myself more particularly to those who are concerned in manufacturing; but, to those who are not, I would say that these details are not less interesting to them; for all those facts are full of the most instructive inferences, which I want those who know how to draw inferences to seek and to perceive. But I may go away from books, and appeal to the history and experience of those who now hear me, and especially those who are further advanced in years, who can well remember and testify to the texture and durability of the cottons and muslins of India. That India can grow more than is necessary for her own consumption is proved, not only by a reference to ancient authorities, but by the statistics of a recent date. In 1818, India exported to England and China alone very nearly 140 millions of lbs. of cotton. In 1836, the exports from the whole of India were about 200 millions of pounds. More than one-third of the arable land of India is unoccupied. The soil for the cultivation of the indigenous cotton is spread over about 200,000 square miles—in many parts the population amounts to from 250 to 280 on the square mile—and the pay of a day laborer may be had for from 1d. to 3d. per day. There are also soils adapted to the growth of all other kinds of cotton. The seed carried from Barbadoes has been cultivated with tolerable success. The Bourbon cotton has been found to flourish on the experimental farms in the neighborhood of Bombay, and at Malwan on the western coast. The cottons of America have been tried on various parts of the Coromandel coast, and the result has been every where favorable. The province of Tritchinopoly, which has refused to grow the indigenous cotton of the country, is now producing fine crops of New Orleans cotton. The Sea Island cotton has produced well in South Arcot. The cottons which have

been grown on the western coast of the Malayan peninsula and at Singapoore proved equal to the original growths of Pernambuco and Bourbon; while a sample from Sugor Island, close to the sea, resembled the true Sea Island so closely, that those who had been in the habit of using the latter article, declared the sample to be a very fine production. At Allahabad, Delhi, Haussi, and other parts of the northern provinces, where the soil is light and the climate dry, the New Orleans and Upland Georgia cottons are thriving, and promise to yield equal to the parent stock. Most of the information I have just given is derived from a very valuable pamphlet on cotton by Major-General Briggs, who spent thirty-two years in India, traversed every part of the country, and made the soils and the cottons of the country his particular study. I hope, ere long, that that gentleman will be down here, to come into close and familiar contact with the gentlemen around me—[applause]—and to impart to them, as the result of his own experience, that information which I am obliged to gather from sources which, though true, are not always so effective when quoted, as the experience of an individual who has been upon the spot. And here I may apologize to those around me, if there is any want of perspicuity or arrangement in my statements, seeing that this is the first time that I have spoken upon the subject. [Applause.] With regard to the capacity of India to produce cotton, General Briggs says:—

"With respect to the means India possesses for growing cotton, it is necessary to consider the extent of the country, the nature of its soil, its vast population, the description of their clothing, and the purposes to which cotton is applied, before we can have any conception of the great capabilities it has of supplying not only England, but the whole world, if necessary." And again he says: "We think enough has been said to shew, that there is neither want of cotton soil for the indigenous nor the American plant, and we may with confidence assert, as

the knowledge of soils and climate becomes more and more studied and attended to, that India will prove capable of producing cotton of any quality, and to any extent."

Take another authority, the Right Honorable Holt Mackenzie, a company's servant in Bengal, who resided a very long time in India. This gentleman says:—

"India would not be found wanting in any essential requisite for the production of the best cotton. The vast extent to which cotton has long been grown, and the exquisite beauty of some of its manufactures, are only additional reasons for prosecuting inquiry."

The *Bombay Chamber of Commerce* have reported to the London, East India, and China Associations, that excellent sugar, cotton equal to some of the finest kinds of American, and also raw silks, can be produced in the Bombay territory.

Dr. Spray, a good botanist, one of the company's servants in Bengal, recently in London, before the Royal Asiatic Society, stated:—

"It is certainly without a parallel in the annals of the world, that a country possessing such capabilities as India, should have been so long hermetically sealed against the enterprise of Britons, in order to prolong the abuses of patronage. Had the peninsula been open, we should not now be dependent upon America for raw cotton, nor would the country have been brought, as it was four years ago, to the very verge of bankruptcy and revolution, when the stock of cotton was not adequate to three weeks' consumption! To this astounding blunder the Southern division of the United States owes its cotton plantations, and its rice fields, and also the blighting curse of slavery.—Evidence confirms the fact, that cotton can be grown in India, fully equal, or rather superior, to the bulk of American."

George Ashburner, Esq., in a paper read to the Royal Asiatic Society, says:—

"With proper management, we might reasonably expect to see the exports of the country in this staple alone, swelling at the rate of 100,000 bales per annum, and mounting, probably, at no distant period, to a million of bales. And what would be the consequence in other respects? Beside benefitting the revenue, and improving the condition of the people of India, such a trade would give employment to a vast amount of British shipping [4,000,000 tons] at the same time that it created a greater demand for the manufactures of the mother country."

*Dr. Falconer, superintendent of the company's botanical garden at Saharanpore, says :—*

"The Upland Georgia cotton would, undoubtedly, be most successful in the upper provinces, as it ripens its seed before the Bourbon cotton even flowers. The Egyptian cotton also seemed likely to thrive."

*Mr. Alexander Rogers, a gentleman who has spent a large portion of his life in India, and who is very extensively engaged as a merchant, says :—*

"Late experiments have demonstrated that the first-rate cotton can be produced in *any* quantity, cheaply, in India."

Kirkman Finlay, Esq., a high authority with gentlemen who sit on my right hand and on my left—one to whom India, and also the manufacturing interests of this country, owe much, who has made this subject his study—has recently, in a communication which he has made to the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, (and here let me publicly express my acknowledgement to the Chamber of Commerce, for the permission which they have given me to look into their papers)—Mr. Kirkman Finlay says :—

"India is a country of such vast resources, with such abundance of soil adapted to the cultivation of cotton,

such a variety of climate, and such an immense laboring population, that it appears, of all others, best fitted to become a cotton-growing country, and to send an article of the finest quality, and in the greatest abundance."

John Gladstone, Esq.—no mean authority in commercial matters, and who has also furnished a paper on the subject, says :—

" For the supply of the raw material we are almost wholly dependent on foreign countries, whilst we have and possess in the British dominions in India, resources —were they encouraged and made available—sufficient to supply all we require, and to an increased extent if demanded—resources that are within our influence and control, and where the only limit to the consumption of British manufactures is the ability of the natives to pay for them ; whilst we possess at the same time the means to stimulate and increase our intercourse with safety and advantage to the empire at large."

Thomas Smith, Esq., not unknown to some of the gentlemen near me, bears testimony to the same effect. He says :—

" That cotton of a very superior quality to the ordinary crop of India may be produced there, repeated evidence has been furnished by the fact that for years past there have been occasional importations of small quantities grown from foreign seed, which have realised comparatively high prices, in some cases more than the price of good American."

Mr. Patrick, of the experimental farm at Akra, near Calcutta, in an official report which he furnished on the subject, says :—

" I have no hesitation in saying, that the quality of the Upland Georgian, grown at Akra, is fully equal, if not superior, to the best cotton of the same description grown in America. I had an excellent opportunity of forming a judgment of the comparative value of this cotton, hav-

ing in the month of November received a quantity of what was called the very best Upland Georgia cotton direct from the United States, which was neither so fine in style, nor so good in general quality."

John Crawford, Esq., a high authority, says:—

"The soil and climate of India must not be blamed.—They are equal in capacity to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greater number."

Hear, too, what the *New York Circular* says—what the New York merchants think on this subject:—

"It is, however, advisable not to draw the cord too tight by these financial arrangements, [alluding to the plans in discussion for holding the coming crop of cotton, that find their birth-place in the brains of the confederated slave-holders of the Southern states,] lest by the attention of Great Britain being turned to the cultivation of cotton in India, *from which, doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained*—(applause)—we may be in danger of losing that market."

"Draw not the cord too tightly!" "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." (Great applause.)—Aye; it is written by the New York merchants—"Draw not the cord too tight!" Give it but a screw or twist too much, and the eyes of Britain may be turned to India, where, "doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained." (Renewed applause.) I hope they have given a screw too much; I hope that they have anointed our eyes, which have too long been screwed the other way. Too long have we looked to the dark chambers of the West, where slaves sigh and the sun sets, and we have looked away from the bright chambers of the East, where the bright orb of day first looks upon the world he gladdens: and now it is high time to "awake to righteousness and sin not." (Applause.)

If they can produce in quantity sufficient, what can they sell it for? That is another and an important question; and indeed, I dare say, Manchester men won't be slow to ask. (Laughter.) I believe I go upon good authority when I say, that the average value of cotton on the shores of Suez Bay is two rupees per lb. What can it cost to grow for in India? George A. Blommer, of our old paper, has a just reference to us in the course of this Budget:

"Labour in central India is cheaper than in almost any other portion of the world; the wages of an able-bodied man being only three rupees six shillings sterling per month. It has been estimated, therefore, that cotton can best may be cultivated profitably for 300 rupees per acre, or for fifteen feet thirty a pound a pound."

Growth and picked, I suppose, will that suit you?

Then, as to together quality, another important consideration, before all else, what says Buchanan Fliday, Esq.?

"We might not suppose that the cottons usually shipped to Great Britain are the best that can be produced. A few bales from the company's experimental farm, at Bombay, were sent to Glasgow, and in August, 1891, sold at 9d. and at 11 1/2d. per lb., whilst American cotton was worth from 1d. to 10 1/4d.; and ordinary kinds of East India cotton, at from 6d. to 7d. per lb." Again he says: "The cotton of Bengal is considered in Manchester a most useful kind of cotton, and superior to the inferior kinds of America."

When I come to speak of cotton grown in India on another occasion, I shall refer to the reasons why it is not of the quality sought. I leave you to judge whether I have succeeded in proving the natural ability of India to meet our demand for cotton. If time permitted, I could demonstrate that there is the same capacity to send sugar, rice, tea, indigo, coffee, flaxseed, flax, and many

other things. But it may be asked, "Is there a market in India for our manufactures?" — "We like the diversity of our manufactures," say the men of this country; "and if we took the produce of India, might we not hope to find amongst the natives of India a disposition to wear and buy our manufactures?" I have advised you, that the effect of our monopoly upon India has been to destroy the manufacturers of the country, to annihilate all native in their export trade; to throw them exclusively upon agricultural pursuits; to compel them to look to a British supply for their manufactured goods.

"But," you ask, "would the demand be great?" Just as great as their prosperity; just as great as your demand for their products. (Hear, hear, and applause.) "But," say some, "are not the habits of the Indians fixed and immutable? May we expect them to change?" Why, their habits have never been so fixed and unchangeably naked. (Hear.) They are fond of flowing robes; the ladies are fond of trousers and adans, and other articles of dress; and the gentlemen, of turbans and robes; and we have seen to what extent they were worn, when they were able to supply themselves with two suits per year. Now as regards the immutability of the Indians, and those statements which, with so much pertinacity, were put forth by the East India Company when clinging to their monopoly, and refusing to listen to the representations of a country whose commerce has been crippled by their blood-winded political economy, what says Sir Thomas Munro? —

"The people could take a great deal of the British manufactures; they are remarkably fond of them, particularly of cotton. It is a mistaken notion that Indians are too simple in their manners to have any passion for foreign manufactures. They are hindered from taking our goods, not by want of inclination, but either by poverty or by reason of being imported rich, and having their rents raised. When we relinquish the barbarous system of

colonial establishments, which we think over the lands either in very long leases, or in perpetuity, to the present occupiers; and which we have divested them, by dividing the incumbrances above the fixed rents, for a term of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, we shall see a demand for European settlers of which we have at present no conception."

Hear that distinguished and benevolent statesman, Augustus Hare. He says,

"The natives of India are just as desirous of acquire, lasting wealth, as skilful in the means of acquiring it, and as prone to all its enjoyments, as any people on earth. It is the land tax that constitutes their unalterable poverty. If the channels of wealth were freely opened in India, such evils would abound as in other countries. It is incongruous with the laws of human nature to suppose other wise."

And what says that well known writer upon political economy, Mr. McCulloch?

"The principal obstacle in the way of extending the commerce with India, does not consist in any indisposition on the part of the natives to purchase our commodities, but in the difficulty under which they are placed, of furnishing equivalents for them."

And why cannot they furnish equivalents? Because of the blighting influence of the land tax, of which Sir Thomas Munro, and the able Bishop Heber, have both spoken. What says Robert Rickards, Esq., one of the most enlightened friends that India ever had? His name is not unknown to those around the Magmudah as he filled the situation of factory inspector in this district for several years before his death. In a speech before the House of Commons in 1818, prior to the renewal of the charter, he said:

"Of all the Indians I have ever seen, none were deficient in the ordinary sensibilities of our nature, none indisposed to the enjoyments and comforts of life, when they

had but the means of obtaining them. Their wants might not be precisely the same as those of Europeans; but, if their self-government allowed it, they would have new wants, which European capital, skill, and industry, could best supply; and the various productions now raised, or capable of being raised, in their own country, which they would learn to interchange with us, would afford means and commodities for trade, which might be carried to an indefinite extent, with boundless advantages to Britain ~~as well as to India.~~

And what says Richard Fisher, Bay upon this subject?

"Patents," says he, "would be proud to dress themselves and their children in our manufactured cottons. — Were the natives of the East Indies to consume as much in proportion as the negroes of the West Indies, they would require more manufactured cotton than is now produced in all Great Britain."

Heav, heav. Now, sir, a word more and I have done. It will not be within my power to-night to answer the question, "Why do we not obtain our cotton from India?" I shall content myself with showing to-night,—I think I have shown, but I leave you to judge—applause—that there is no natural obstacle in the way; that we must seek the cause, not in the soil,—it is not barren; not in the absence of a laboring population,—there they dwell, two hundred and forty to the square mile, standing all the day idle, because no man hath hired them"—cheers;—not in the climate, which is genial; not in consequence of the absence of the means of irrigation, which are at hand. I shall go into the hindrances, the fiscal and other hindrances, to obtaining a sufficient supply of cotton from India, when I next have the honor of addressing you.

But it may be well to look for a moment before we part to the advantages which would result from a free, unrestricted, and extensive trade with India, the great and

glorious principles exemplified at Glengow and Cawnpore. They were first the sounding of the natives. These were added to, attributable to the agents under which they fell. They now live in great security; the time was when they were better sheltered. They have not to run the single approach for safety, and then they come forth and attack him, the ox and now the child. They have would like to subdue the jungle, to as yet the tiger, to make the entire country quiet; they would like to see the forest out yielding to front where the experts from the steppes, and melt filling a dreadful gall where glutted beasts now stand uncontrolled sovereignty over the land. My friends, the first thing we should do should be to improve the condition of the natives; to make them happy; and this to promote the general prosperity of our Empire. And what would be the consequence of this? The immediate augmentation of the revenue of that country. Twenty millions of money is now raised from India; only sixpence per head; and yet it sinks the wealth who has to pay it, to the earth. How poor then, how wretched must he be! What a system that must be, under which an small an impost has become a burthen, and which has thus caused to present a degenerate aspect, the once hardy and happy Hindoo! It is true we have not chopped off their heads with the sword, but we have crushed them under the juggernaut of monopoly! (Applause.) Think of the security and prosperity of our dominions in the East. We are fond of fighting; we choose to do everything by fighting; we for matters get wrong, like a skein of tangled thread; we for the thing get warped twisted, and knotted, and then we must fight it out. Hear, hear. And now we are talking of the Russian encroach, and of the Don Cossack threatening to come across the Indus, and we are preparing to repel them. But remember, say what an enlightened Indian has said, that the danger is not from the Russians without, but from us; fellow subjects within; that we

there has to be fair recompence given, but it is not all one  
that you do it. Would you perpetuate your sins,  
done in the East? Would you trammel the people of  
Venezuela, which now weeg over India, to live ascended  
and afterwards fallen? The establishment to the people  
keeps them not in a state of subjection by the establishment  
of beheading hypocrites and dazzling words, but by the  
administration of just and equal laws applying rules  
not simple but the test of fitness for action; but it is not  
your main great object to put them at home in their place,  
and let justice run of them all that they can possibly  
yield. Let them pull nothing in their power, and you shall  
get it out. That may not keep it out; you poison the  
seeds of prosperity at the very fountain head; you  
make them poor, and then accuse them of want of good  
soil because they do not grow much; you curse the  
land; you curse men it will not and will not, and then you  
blame your India! You stand on this side the water, and  
looking across the broad ocean to these shores, platted, and  
without asking "why," you say "I disagree! I have strange  
it is that India does not supply us with sugar with."  
(Hear.) Then, again, you would get a cheaper article.  
Your cotton will meet his cheap, depend upon it, while  
it all comes from one place. (Applause.) Let there be  
free competition; I ask the India no more than I would  
give to America. I say, "the free market," and she asks  
no more; she wants an even hand; she asks but impor-  
tant justice.

Had I time,—I may have on another occasion,—I  
would show you in another way the gross injustice we  
have done to that country for many years. Not content  
with the partial system we have pursued towards our West  
Indian colonies,—free as we are, loving freedom as we  
do,—we are still by some twist or another, (I shall not at-  
tempt to account for it,) prone to foster slavery rather than  
freedom. (Hear.) Oh, we have discouraged the free  
men who would have given us uncontaminated produce,

quashed by tears or blood ; and we have忍受ed those  
systems which defend altogether for those miscreants,  
the right of man, upon the substitution of negroes. (Hear,  
hear.) What would be the moral effect of getting  
our cotton from India ? (Cheerful cotton cheaper clo-  
thing ; and it will do great service in cheap clothing !)  
There is high hell when he gets a good suit on his back, in  
his full strength he has a load upon him ! There he stands along  
discharging the arms of his fellow citizens ! Does he avoid  
the sanctuary of the belfry, and crawl into the grog shop  
with the beggar and the prostitute ! (Applause.) Does not the clothing of him in a suit of clothes that allow him  
him to compare in appearance with those around him, cre-  
ate a feeling of self respect that lifts him up, -which can  
not fail to make him in the open day not failing to be  
seen, and takes him where the rules of wisdom can be  
taught, and keeps him from places which only the conduct  
of untaught discontent prevent ! (Applause.) It is  
not enough to say, that a careful man can get clothing  
now. Bring your clothing down to a certain price ; make  
your cotton fit a £1. cheaper, and you'll immediately  
make the proportion cheaper ; then the wife shall have a  
gown, and the servant shall have a jacket. Will you do  
that the wife shall want the one, and the husband will  
want the other. Another moral effect of the latter sys-  
tem would be, that you would glorify slavery. And is  
that nothing ? (Hear, hear.) Is it nothing to speak lib-  
erty in millions ? Is it nothing to give peace and security  
to a continent ? Is it nothing to say from the market-place  
in the American that which he won't hear from the pul-  
pit ? (Hear, hear.) Is it nothing to send out from Man-  
chester, to issue an irreversible and omnipotent decree,  
" Slavery shall fall ; for cotton shall be cheap !" (Ap-  
plause.) See you not your power ? Feel you not your  
responsibility ?

" Britain ! the nations know thy voice ;  
" To thine to make the awful choice ;

The time is told the world repeat,  
The day of judgment comes.

Now, I am attempting only, and I hope not losing all due deference, I expect that at the anti-slavery meeting of this country for the last three years—(Applause.)—thinking, feeling, thinking, as I do, the importance of moral power, yet, calculating the time it will take to bring aught in sight by the application of purely moral principles, and the time it will take to bring about the abolition of such a system as this, by putting in motion, part *postum* with every other effect a principle of political economy, as simple, evident, and safe, that we may proceed with absolute confidence upon the trust, endeavoring the time necessary in the one case, prompted with the other necessity in the other. I say, if the youngest among us here would turn to see the downfall of Spain, of Brazil, and, worst of all, American republican slavery. (Applause.) You must look to abolish it, not merely by your considerations, your "opinion," full telephone, but, especially in those, in your south, full anti-slavery political economy. (Heat, heat.) You would then be independent of the seasons; but you might have a large supply on hand. Whether the slaves in America were forced or consented; whether they sold willingly or reluctantly, or sold not at all; whether they obtained their freedom, or whether they remained in bondage—you would still have cotton. You might, from the summit of your prosperity, secure and immovable, look down with calm contempt upon all cotton speculators, and see every shaft which availed of any hue to strike or destroy you, fall powerless and perishing at your feet. (Applause.) But you cannot do this until you are independent. Independent men may smile; dependent men must keep their smiles concealed, or they must smile complacently and complacency; they must not smile derision or scorn, while within the grasp of such a man as mercenary M'Duffie, of South Carolina. (Ap-

plause.) The augmentation of your mercantile navy would be the certain consequence of a better system;—I merely name this. And then the increase, to an inconceivable extent, of your manufactures, upon which I will not dwell to-night. Now, naming no more of the advantages to be derived from a better system, do not these, contemplated singly,—much more when put together,—do not they present you a sufficient reward for your pains? Are you not summoned by these things from your lethargy, to active exertions in this cause? My friends, our doings in this country are not regarded with indifference in India. The papers that come to us by every overland mail, bring us tidings of the gladness with which our incipient movements and measures are noticed by the people of India. I would say to those who hear me, that the Agricultural Society of India have expressed the high satisfaction they feel at finding that the improvement of the great staples of India has been made a subject of earnest and active attention by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester. ("Hear," and loud applause.) They bid you God speed. They see the germ of their own prosperity in the yet infant manifestations of generous interposition, or even of interested motive, in this country. But, my friends, while chambers of commerce may do much,—much for themselves, much for their country, much for India, much for the world, I speak not to them alone; I speak to my country as to one man. I ask not help—I dare not expect it, still less depend upon it—from Downing street, or at present from the House of Commons, or from the board of control. The board of control I want is the people of England. ("Hear," and applause.) There is no other board of control in which I have confidence; and they must be spoken to, and they must hear the language of sincerity and honesty. They will ask for the undisguised and unadulterated truth; and from my lips, at least, they shall have it. ("Hear," and applause.) While I will not be blind, on the one side, to those motives which

are of the lowest class, I will not be blind on the other, to those which are of the higher and nobler class. I say, do justice to India, not because you will benefit by it, but because you *ought to do it*. (Hear, hear.) It is your duty. God has imposed that duty upon you; it has been yours from the moment you became the conquerors of India. And just in proportion as they are deprived of the privilege of self-government, just in proportion as they lack representatives in parliament, just in proportion as princes and potentates and peers are deaf to their wailings, and blind to their miseries,—just in that proportion are you, the people of this country, called upon to raise that voice which is never raised in vain; which, whenever it speaks to demand justice, never fails—tho' sometimes it must speak often and long, and loud,—never fails at last to obtain it from the most supine and most reluctant legislators. (Hear.) To that people I appeal for India. I plead before for eight hundred thousand, I plead now for one hundred millions of human beings; nor for them alone. The battle-ground of freedom for the world is on the plains of Hindostan. (Applause.) Yes, my friends, do justice to India; wave *there* the sceptre of justice, and the rod of oppression falls from the hands of the slave-holder in America; and the slave, swelling beyond the measure of his chains, stands disenthralled, a free man and an acknowledged brother. (Applause.)

Think, then, of these things. India can give you all you want. India can take from you all you have to give. Your political power can give her freedom; your encouragement will supply the necessary stimulus; your commerce will reward her industry; your manufactures will clothe and adorn her myriad population; and your religion will sanctify her, and save her from prostration before false deities, and train her to the worship of the living God. (Applause.) Then shall cease in India the desolations of the sword; then shall cease the pestilence

of the plague and of famine; then shall cease the darkness, the moral darkness, that now shrouds the otherwise brightest habitations of men; then shall the idols be utterly abolished; and the mild rule and just laws of England, transplanted to the shores of the East, shall give liberty to the captive, the opening of the prison to them that are bound, and cause the Hindoo, Mussulman, and the Negro together to rejoice in the clemency and the justice of the people of England. (Loud Applause.)

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#### FOURTH LECTURE.

ON Thursday night Mr. Thompson delivered his 4th lecture on British India in the Friends' Meeting-house, Mount-street, Dickinson-street, to an audience still more numerous than on any of the former occasions. The immense place seemed to be completely filled both in the lower part, and the gallery on each side and in front. Mr. Thompson entered the Meeting-house, accompanied by the following gentlemen: Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., J. B. Smith, Esq., Rev. John Birt, Mr. Alderman Callender, Mr. Joseph Crewdson, Mr. Alderman Burd, Mr. Henry Ashworth, Mr. Peter Clare, Mr. Edmund Ashworth, Mr. David Holt, Mr. Shipley Neave, Mr. James Hall, jr., Mr. Thomas Binyon, Mr. Wm. Fowden, Mr. Thomas Frankland, of Liverpool, Mr. Samuel Eveleigh, Mr. Josiah Merrick, Mr. J. A. Turner, Dr. Johns, Mr. John Mayson, and Mr. Jos. Thompson.

The Lecturer said—*Ladies and Gentlemen,—I trust the time is coming, when we shall be no longer subject to the reproach, which, up to this period we have so richly merited, of being ignorant of the true state of our vast possessions in the East. A variety of consid-*

erations urge us to make the condition and resources of India our peculiar study:—the pressing necessities and growing disaffection of the people—the consequent critical tenure of our dominion—the falling-off of the revenue—the possible diminution in our imports from the West Indies—the want we feel of a plentiful supply of cheap raw cotton—the existing character and extent of slavery and the slave trade—the recent suspension of our commercial intercourse with China—the probable results of the late change in the state of affairs beyond the Indus—the policy of increasing the means of disposing to advantage of the manufactures of this country, and the practicability of reducing the price of many of those articles of tropical produce which have become necessary both for the rich and the poor. There are many other topics, which might with perfect propriety be named, as worthy of our attention in connection with British India. There is, perhaps, no part of the world more replete with all that is calculated to fire the imagination, inflame the patriotism, and affect the hearts of the people of this country. The student in history—the lover of antiquity—the admirer of stupendous monuments of human skill and industry—the worshipper of the great and grand in nature—the speculator in the rise and fall of empires—the friend of education—the promoter of Christian missions—and the disseminator of the oracles of God—all these may find in the past history and present state of India, abundant food for reflection, and a boundless field for benevolent exertion. (Applause.) I do not—I need not hesitate to declare, that I am influenced less by a desire to see India made a source of wealth to this country, than to see this country made a blessing to India. I would be the instrument, if I might be so honored, of awakening my fellow-citizens to a just sense of their responsibility to the countless multitude, of whose destinies they are at present the arbiters. I would direct them—not so much to the riches which

lie beneath the soil, as to the immortal beings who dwell upon that soil. I feel that every addition to our national territory, every accession to the number of our fellow subjects, increases the amount of our responsibility. I believe that all who are governed in the name of Great Britain, ought to feel the benign influence of her religion and laws. I am anxious for the exaltation of our character—not so much by the splendor of our military achievements, as by the mildness of our sway; the equity of our jurisprudence; the impartiality of our statutes; the humanity of our penal code; the incorrupt administration of public justice; the protection of the weak; the instruction of the ignorant; the trampling under foot of every unholy and unfraternal prejudice;—in a word, by the exhibition of the Christian character—the acting out of the divine injunction, “all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.” (Loud Applause.)

It is not enough for me, if it were true, that we govern India better than those of her conquerors who bent to the pale crescent of the false prophet, or than their predecessors who worshipped at the shrine of idols. No: we have a reputation to maintain. We have another kind of religion to illustrate; we have higher privileges to embrace—higher duties to discharge. (Hear, hear.) The God of this nation requires that we should act, not according to Mahomedan or Pagan precepts, but according to the eternal law which he has given us, and in the spirit of that blessed Gospel, whose holy light and civilizing influence he has shed upon our own beloved island. (Hear.) Where much is given, much will be required. If we would raise the Hindoo—if we could turn him from idols to the living God—if we could be instrumental in bestowing upon him that noblest and best of all titles, a Christian, we must be ourselves Christian rulers, and recommend the Master we propose to serve, by a close resemblance to him in character and conversation.

I am led to make these remarks, previous to resuming the discussion of the subject which engaged our attention at our last lecture by an earnest desire that the great object of the British India Society, "the bettering of the condition of the people of India," should be kept prominently and constantly before the public, and that the primary actuating principle of my own conduct may be distinctly understood. (Hear, hear.)

I return now to consider the subject of our trade with India in the article of cotton wool, and the nature of those obstacles which at present prevent us from obtaining a good, cheap, and permanent supply.

Little more than sixty years ago, the cotton manufacturers of this country consumed about 3,000,000lbs. of raw cotton annually; last year the total amount of cotton wool imported was 497,681,465lbs., of which 458,884,-346lbs. were retained for consumption. Only 38,232,612lbs. of this was imported from British India. (Hear.) Yet we have been told by parliamentary committees that India is capable of producing cotton of every variety, and in quantities sufficient to supply the world. Let us look into the reasons why this is not the case. But first let us understand something about the thing of which we are talking. While speaking of the natural history of cotton wool, I shall avail myself freely of the excellent work of Mr. Baines:—Cotton, or cotton wool, is a vegetable down, the produce of a plant growing in warm climates, and indigenous in India and America. The name of the genus is *Gossypium*, and there are many varieties. The cotton is contained in the seed vessels, and adheres closely to the seeds of the plant. Linnæus enumerates ten species; Lamarck, eight; Cavanilles and Willdenow, ten. The three great distinctions are—*herbaceous cotton*; *shrub cotton*; and *tree cotton*; each of which has several varieties, so that the same planters have recognized not fewer than a hundred kinds, and the plant seems to have a tendency to run into varieties.

The most useful kind of cotton is the *herbaceous*; which is an annual plant, cultivated in the United States, India, China, and many other countries. It grows to the height of eighteen to twenty-four inches. When the flower falls off, a capsular pod appears, supported by three triangular green leaves, deeply jagged at the ends: the pod approaches to the triangular shape, with a pointed end, and has three cells. It increases to the size of a large filbert, and becomes brown as the woolly fruit ripens, the expansion of the wool then causes the pod to burst, when it discloses a ball of snow white or yellowish down, consisting of three locks, one in each cell, enclosing and firmly adhering to the seeds, which in form resemble those of grapes, but are much larger.

The seed is planted in March, April, and May; and the cotton is gathered by hand, within a few days after the opening of the pods, in August, September and in October. In America, it is planted in rows five feet asunder, and in holes eighteen inches apart, in each of which several seeds are deposited; careful weeding of the ground is necessary, and the plants require to be gradually thinned, so as ultimately to leave only one in each hole; they are also twice pruned, by nipping off the ends of the branches, in order to make them put out more, and yield a larger quantity of blossom and fruit.

A field of cotton at the gathering season, when the globes of snowy wool are seen among the dark green leaves, is singularly beautiful; and in the hottest countries, when the yellow blossom or flower, and the ripened fruit, are seen at the same time, the beauty of the plantation is, of course, still more remarkable.

The *Shrub cotton* grows in almost every country where the annual herbaceous cotton is found. Its duration varies according to the climate: in some places, as in the West Indies, it is biennial, or triennial; in others, as in India, Egypt, &c., it lasts from six to ten years; in the hottest countries it is perennial, and in the cooler coun-

tries which grow cotton (and in the United States where the frost of the winter kills the plant,) it becomes an annual. In appearance, the shrub has a considerable resemblance to the currant bush. The flower and fruit of the shrub cotton closely resemble those of the herbaceous cotton, but the pod is egg-shaped, not triangular and pointed. The shrub is planted in holes seven or eight feet apart; eight or ten seeds are deposited in each hole, but only one of the stems which they produce is allowed to remain; the shrubs require to be pruned, and the plantations to be well weeded; and they seldom continue to yield good cotton more than five or six years; but in the hottest countries two crops a year are gathered—one from October to December, and the other from February to April. The Guiana and Brazil cotton is of this kind.

The *tree cotton* grows in India, China, Egypt, the interior and western coast of Africa, and in some parts of America. As the tree only attains the height of twelve to twenty feet, it is difficult to distinguish the tree cotton and the shrub cotton, from the mention made of them by many travellers.

There is still another tree of very magnificent growth, attaining the height of a hundred feet, and with a peculiar spreading top, which bears a silky cotton of matchless softness, whiteness, and lustre, but of so short and brittle a fibre that it is unfit for spinning, and can only be used for the purpose of stuffing pillows and beds.

The cotton plant, in all its varieties, requires a dry and sandy soil. This is the uniform testimony of travellers and naturalists. Proximity to the sea is proved to be indispensable to the growth of the best cotton, by the experience of the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, who raise the finest cotton known—namely, the Sea Island, on the sandy coasts and low islands of the sea, and who find the same cotton decrease, in length of staple and in quality, when grown inland. The Hon. Mr. Seabrook,

says—"In proportion to the distance from the seaboard, and to the want of a free circulation of air from the south in, in general, the downward graduated scale of coarseness in the cotton produced. These causes operate increasingly as you recede from the ocean, until a point is reached at which long cotton cannot be profitably cultivated." Aguirre, he says—"The cotton of Mr. Burden and his favored associates, is indebted for its celebrity to the combined requisites of fineness, strength, and evenness of fibre. Upon what principles are these distinguished properties dependent? Those planters use, not only extensively, but almost exclusively, *salt mud*. This manure is known to impart a healthful action to the cotton plant, to maturate rapidly its fruit, and to produce a staple at once strong and silky."

For the cultivation of the best cotton, there are two other requisites besides a sandy soil, proximity to the sea, and salt clay mud as manure:—First, very great care is necessary in the selection of the seed; and, second, there must be diligence in weeding, pruning, and in every part of the cultivation. It is usual to throw the seed into water before sowing it, when the bad seed will float, and the good will sink.

The celebrated Sea Island cotton is much longer in the fibre than any other description. It is also strong and even, of a silky texture, and has a yellowish tinge. Its seed is black, whereas most of the other American cotton is produced from green seed. It is of the annual herbaceous kind. It was first sent from the Bahama Islands in 1786.

The operation of gathering the ripe cotton needs to be performed with care. The women and young people who are employed in it go through the plantation several times, as the pods do not all open together, and the cotton should be plucked within a few days after it has opened. The cotton and seeds are plucked; leaving the husk behind. Fine weather is chosen, as any degree of wet

on the cotton wool would make it afterwards become mouldy, and would cause the oil of the seeds to spread upon the wool. That it might become completely dried, it is exposed to the heat of the sun, on a platform of tiles or wood, for several days after it is gathered: by this means not only the wool, but also the seeds become dry, in which state they are more easily separated from the wool.

To detach the cotton from the seeds which it envelops, is a work of some difficulty, and one which must be performed effectually before the cotton is packed, otherwise it will inevitably become oily and mouldy, and by the particles of seed and dirt, rendered unfit for spinning. To do this by the hand would be a very slow and expensive process, as a man could not clean more than a pound per day. All nations at any remove from barbarism, therefore, employ some kind of machinery. Here is the rude hand-mill, or roller gin, used for centuries in India. This could not clean more than from fifty to sixty-five pounds in a day. The long-stapled, or Sea Island cotton, is still separated from the seeds by rollers constructed on a large scale, and worked by horses, steam, or other power. A mill of this kind will clean 800 or 900 pounds of cotton in a day.

The short-stapled American cotton is cleansed by a very different and much more rapid process, without the invention of which that species of cotton must have been much dearer than it now is, and consequently the cotton manufacture itself could not have attained its present extension. In 1793, Mr. Eli Whitney, of Westborough, in Massachusetts, invented the saw gin, with which one man may cleanse three hundred weight of cotton in a day. The cotton is put into a receiver or hopper, of considerable length compared with its width, one side of which is framed by a grating of strong parallel wires about the eighth of an inch apart. Close to the hopper is a wooden roller, having upon its surface a series of

circular saws, an inch and a half apart, which pass within the grating of the hopper to a certain depth. When the roller is turned, the teeth of the saw lay hold of the locks of cotton, and drag them through the wires, whilst the seeds are prevented by their size from passing through, and fall to the bottom in the receiver, when they are carried off by a spout. The cotton is afterwards swept away from the saws by a revolving cylindrical brush.

"The cotton plants of the new world and the indigenous plant or plants of India," says General Briggs, "have been discovered to be of entirely distinct species, different in their habits, and requiring different modes of treatment." He states, however, that "that which is produced on well cultivated lands has a staple in no wise inferior in length, strength, or fineness, and even superior in color to that of the Upland Georgia and New Orleans of America." This statement is supported by the evidence given on the subject before a committee of the House of Lords in 1830. From the digest of that evidence we learn that "some of the best Surat cotton is nearly as good in quality as Georgia;" that "very clean Indian cotton would approach nearly to the price of American;" and that "Bombay cotton might be grown as good as Sea Island."

"The indigenous plant," continues General Briggs, "grows, for the most part, far in the interior of the country. The cotton of the Deccan and Berar has to travel by land from 250 to 300 miles before it reaches the port of Bombay. Cotton of the same growth has to travel to a great mart on the Ganges; also by a land route at least 400 miles, whence it has to proceed 750 further down the river to Calcutta, before it can be embarked there. A third route is from the Southern Maratta country to the coast, a distance of 200 miles, over a tremendous passage of the mountains, whence it has to be embarked and sent 500 miles by sea to Bombay for shipment; and the east road of the cotton trade is a route of 300 miles

by land, from the tract lying south of the Kishna river, and in the fork between that river and the Toongbodia, ere it reaches the port of Madras."

General Briggs also states, that from an analysis lately made by order of the Royal Asiatic Society, of several specimens of soil procured from America last year, it appears that silex, in very minute grains, with scarcely any lime, a fair proportion of vegetable matter, with a strong impregnation of the protoxide of iron, forming a light sandy friable loam, by no means tenacious, and not very retentive of moisture, are the peculiarities of the American cotton soils: and that the cotton soil of India stands opposed to this description. That it is composed chiefly, not of silex, but of the decomposition of trap rocks, the *debris* of the several chains of mountains which bind one limit, and here and there branch across the vast extent of the trap formation of central India. This alluvium, in many places, overlies or borders on limestone, which gives occasionally a peculiar quality to the soil, without effecting, in any great degree, its capability of growing indigenous cotton. Now (he observes) it may easily be imagined, that the cotton which loves the light sandy and comparatively poor soil of America, may not thrive in the fat, black clayey soil of the indigenous plant of India: and all the experiments that have been made tend to prove this to be the case. The Bourbon and New Orleans plants that withered and became sickly on one spot in Guzerat (where the native plant produced at the same time a luxuriant crop,) on being removed to another situation, into a light, sandy, and even sterile soil, produced abundantly a good material.

In the same way the Bourbon cotton seeds flourished, and produced an excellent article on two experimental farms; the one situated near Bombay, and the other at Malwan, on the western coast, where the same description proved a failure in the indigenous cotton grounds in the interior. It is well known (says he) that at Dacca,

not far distant from the sea, within the delta of the Megna and Barampootra rivers, a superior description of cotton has long been grown, which produced those incomparable cloths denominated Dacca muslins. This plant has failed wherever it has been removed, and attempted to be grown elsewhere.

While we are speaking of the Dacca muslins and of the amazing skill of the natives of India in the spinning of cotton thread, I must beg permission to mention a fact related to me since my last lecture, by my scientific matter-of-fact and most excellent friend Mr. Clare. Cotton, he informs me, has been spun in this country, so fine, that it required 330 hanks of it to make one pound in weight; and, as each hank measured 880 yards, a pound of cotton so spun would extend 165 miles. The diameter of this thread, measured by a micrometer attached to a microscope, was found to be the *four hundred and eightieth* part of an inch. A single thread of fine cotton, however, spun by the fingers of the Hindoo in British India, when measured in the same way, was found to be, not the 480th part of an inch, but the *one thousandth* part of an inch in diameter, so that it required at least four such threads of hand-spun British India cotton twisted together, to make one thread equal in thickness to the finest machine-spun cotton in this country. He also stated, that it is understood that a certain degree of moisture is required to be used in spinning the fine threads by hand in India, and that to this cause is to be attributed the different appearances of the threads as viewed with a glass of high magnifying power. The fibres of that which was spun by machinery, and without moisture, were easily distinguished, and seemed to touch each other only in certain places; whilst the fibres of that spun by hand, and with a little moisture, seemed to touch each other in almost every part; thereby making a stronger thread with the same quantity of cotton, and of much finer appearance, but not so even in its thickness.

Pardon me if I read a short extract, relative to that part of India where the cotton is grown which makes the Dacca muslin. John Crawfurd, Esq., in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," says :—

"There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighborhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture; it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far as I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about forty miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland. I consulted Mr. Colebrook respecting the Dacca cotton, and had an opportunity of perusing the manuscripts of the late Dr. Roxburgh, which contain an account of it; he calls it a variety of the common herbaceous annual cotton of India, and states that it is longer in the staple, and affords the material from which the Dacca muslins have been always made."

I shall make no apology for going into these particulars, because I am desirous of making these lectures a medium for the communication of information, as well as for inculcating those great principles by which I hope we shall be ultimately able to better the condition of the natives, and to regenerate our Eastern empire; and as, through the very great consideration and kindness of a portion, at least, of the press of this town, I am enabled to send over this country and to America and to India, the information I am giving to you, I am desirous of making it as solid and useful as possible. Therefore, if it is not so exciting and interesting as it otherwise might be, I trust that it will be quite as useful when uttered, and when it goes beyond the precincts of the walls by which I am surrounded. (Applause.)

## FIFTH LECTURE.

The fifth lecture of this important course was delivered on Thursday evening last, in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount-street, Dickenson-street ; its immediate subject, "The anti-slavery aspect of the British India question." The attendance was again as large, notwithstanding the lapse of a fortnight since the last preceding lecture, as on any former occasion ; there being probably from 1,200 to 1,400 persons present, of whom a fair proportion were ladies.

About a quarter before seven o'clock, Mr. Thompson commenced his address in the following terms :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are met this evening to consider one of the most interesting branches of that great subject upon which our attention has been engaged, for now a series of evenings, namely "the anti-slavery aspect of the British India question." I confess that it is to me peculiarly delightful to look at the connection which subsists between the accomplishment of our great object in reference to British India, and the advancement of that noble cause in which ourselves and our country have been so honorably engaged during the last half century. It has fallen to my lot frequently to discuss, in its varied bearings, the topic of slavery, as connected with our colonial dependencies and other parts of the world, and to look also to the nature and extent of that odious and wicked traffic in human beings which is carried on between the shores of Africa and the islands and continent of North America ; and, after a consideration long and anxious, of this great subject in all its aspects, immediate and collateral, I am brought to the conclusion, that, if we would prosecute, with any rational hope of success, the great cause of universal emancipation, we must put into operation that potent principle of political economy upon which I have dwelt in former addresses, and without which our efforts of another kind would be at once incon-

sistent and ineffectual. I am no stranger to what has been accomplished by purely moral means in reference to our British West India islands; I cannot look back upon the struggles in which we have been engaged for the abolition of the slave trade, for the overthrow of colonial slavery, and more recently for the extinction of that vile system which went under the name of negro apprenticeship, without admiration of the almost omnipotent power of public opinion brought to bear upon the legislature of a country which has a supreme control over the question to which those moral efforts were directed; but, while I am duly sensible of the duty and propriety and efficacy of moral means, I am equally sensible of the vast importance, of the absolute necessity, of other means to accomplish the extinction of slavery and the slave trade in countries over which we exercise no direct legislative influence. I rejoice in the progress of the cause in the United States of America. I have frequently addressed audiences upon that subject in this town; I have dwelt upon the early history of the great struggle in America; and I have exhibited the conflicts, the toils, and the triumphs of the noble and martyr-like spirits which have been raised up to advance the cause of freedom in that great but inconsistent and guilty land; and I believe, that there is a spirit at work among the people on the other side of the Atlantic, which will ultimately prove fatal to the existence of that system which is so foul a stain upon the profession and the character of that otherwise free and noble people. But, I believe, with reference to that country, that the abolitionists, however numerous, however fearless, however well organised, however wise in their measures, however bold and intrepid in the prosecution of their designs, will find their great enterprise in the United States exceedingly retarded in the accomplishment of its object, unless it be aided by the employment of those means which Providence has put within our

reach, and without which the American Anti-slavery Society will be left comparatively weak and helpless.

I come therefore to-night to connect the British India question with the great question of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, and to show what we may reasonably expect to be able to do for the cause of human freedom, while we wisely and energetically seek to promote the good of our fellow-subjects in British India. It may be necessary to dwell for a moment or two upon the present state of the world in regard to negro slavery and the slave trade. You are aware, that there are in the United States of North America nearly three millions of human beings who are held in a condition of absolute and unmitigated thralldom. You are aware, that in Brazil there are upwards of two millions of human beings in a similar situation, and in the dependencies of other Christian states more than one million, making a total of six millions of human beings held as goods and chattels by nominally Christian states. (Hear.) You are aware, also, that there has recently sprung into existence a Republic on the shores of America, known by the name of the Texas; that this is a great country wrested from the territory of Mexico, appropriated by a number of lawless adventurers from the United States, who have gone thither, carrying slaves with them, and have hitherto, by force and fraud combined, kept possession of this country, to which they have no right, either moral, political, or natural; and that they are now carrying on a very extensive trade in slaves, in the hope of erecting themselves into a large and prosperous cotton-growing community. As there is at this moment considerable discussion in reference to Texas, as the public papers are arguing *pro* and *con* the propriety of a recognition of that infant republic by the government of this country, I desire to bear my testimony against that republic as being unworthy of the countenance and support of this Christian and anti-slavery nation. (Hear.) I believe there is not to be found on

the face of the globe we inhabit, a confederacy of human beings more wicked in its principles, more outrageous in its political doctrines, than the confederacy of men, all nearly destitute of character, and many of them bankrupts in circumstances, who form the republic of Texas, on the shores of America. As a specimen of their political principles, allow me to draw your attention to the ninth section of their Constitution, formally proclaimed, in which it is decreed that—

*"All persons of color who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding the said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States: nor shall Congress have the power to emancipate slaves, nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves without the consent of Congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy."*

The tenth section is equal in atrocity and bold-faced wickedness to the ninth. It decrees that—

*"All persons (Africans, the descendants of Africans, and Indians excepted) who were residing in Texas on the day of the declaration of independence, shall be considered citizens of the republic, and be entitled to all the privileges of such."*

Who does not scorn such a republic as this? (Applause.) Who in Europe does not regard with abhorrence, with loathing, and with execration, such a proscriptive constitution as this, founded upon color, and not upon merit, not upon intelligence, not upon industry, not upon real worth and qualification for citizenship, but upon that complexion which God in his wisdom and goodness has seen fit to stamp upon his human and immortal creatures? (Loud applause.) Here you perceive, in the first place, that slavery is expressly permitted; that persons coming from the United States into Texas are permitted to bring their negro chattels with them, and to hold them as absolutely and as securely as they did in the States of America. You perceive, in the second place, that the constitution deprives even Congress of the power to emancipate any slave or slaves within the limits of the republic. (Hear.) That, in the third place, it prohibits the emancipation of any slave, whether male or female, by his or her master, except upon the condition that the slave so emancipated is carried beyond the bounds of the state. In the next place, while it professes to abolish, or rather to prohibit, the foreign slave trade, it makes provision for its continuance, inasmuch as it admits, without question or limit, persons from the United States of America to enter the republic with their slaves; and hence, if a man desires to take a thousand slaves into Texas, and cannot procure one in the United States, he has but to land them upon some part of the United States, and then to cross the Sabine river in the character of an emigrant from the United States, and he may immediately enter that republic, and settle there as a slaveholder, with his long and black retinue of human beasts of burden, stolen from any part of the world. And you perceive, in the last place, that colored persons, negroes and their descendants, or Indians and their descendants, and all mixed breeds, are utterly disfranchised; and that the boasted freedom in Texas proclaimed the other day, is only for those who are.

of unmixed white blood, and absolutely disfranchises and keeps in interminable bondage every individual who has in his veins one drop derived from the negro on one side, or the Indian on the other. (Hear, hear.) I say, such a republic, so far from deserving to be recognised by any Christian country on this side of the Atlantic, deserves nothing but the most severe and unadulterated rebuke and execration, and ought to be kept far from all intercourse, if it were possible, with the people of this country, until a system so unholy and so unchristianal as this is entirely abolished. (Loud applause.)

Then with regard to the African slave trade : those who have made themselves familiar with the details that have recently been published respecting the extent and character of the slave trade carried on between Africa and America, know how dreadful and appalling, how completely heart-sickening, are the features of that most execrable traffic. Since the year 1807, the exportation of human beings from the shores of Africa has more than doubled, and the horrors of transportation have been beyond all calculation increased. Instead of 70,000 beings transported from Africa, which was the total amount of negroes sent from that country in the year 1807, there are now from 150,000 to 250,000 taken to supply the transatlantic slave markets ; and, in consequence of this trade, from 250,000 to 300,000 are murdered on the soil of their birth. (Hear, hear) Thus it is computed by Mr. Buxton, and not by one process only, but by five processes, instituted by him for the purpose of arriving at an accurate conclusion on the subject,—that half a million yearly are either slaughtered or enslaved, to supply the slave markets of America. These are murdered during the time of seizure in the predatory wars that are waged between chief and chief, tribe and tribe, nation and nation—or on the march from the interior down to the coast, during which it is estimated that not less than thirty per cent. perish—or on the middle passage between

the shores of Africa and Rio Janeiro, or the Havana, or Texas, or some of the rivers of the United States of America—or during the sufferings which characterize the period of "seasoning," as it is called, while being initiated into the sufferings and the sorrows of their enslaved condition. And it is estimated, also, that at all times there are not fewer than twenty thousand human beings sailing over the Atlantic from the land of their nativity to the distant scenes of bondage and suffering for which they are destined. Then allow me to draw your attention for a moment to another slave trade which is carried on in the United States of America, and which is not far inferior in the blackness of its character to the slave trade which I have just adverted to. Mr. Middleton, in a speech to Congress in 1819, declared, that thirteen thousand Africans were annually smuggled into the Southern states, notwithstanding the distinct prohibition of the trade since 1808—that furtively, illegally, and as contraband articles of trade, thirteen thousand slaves are annually imported into the Southern rivers of that country. And Miss Martineau, in her interesting work on "Society in America," has also stated, on the authority of a large slaveholder, that not fewer than fifteen thousand are thus, contrary to law, annually introduced into the United States of America. This would give to every census of the black population of the United States an addition to the extent of 150,000, and may to this extent account for the increase in the slave population in that country, which is always taken by the Americans themselves to be a full and sufficient proof of the more kindly treatment of their negroes, compared with the treatment of negroes in other slave countries of the world.

But, besides this, there is an inland slave trade going on between the north-eastern and the south-western slave states. This is variously estimated. It appears, however, from the very best authority, that during the year 1836, no fewer than 150,000 negroes were removed from

the one state of Virginia (one of the older, and now a slave-rearing state,) to the southern and south-western states, for the purpose of being there engaged in the cultivation of cotton and sugar. Forty thousand of these were sold to negro traders who travel for the purpose of buying slaves, from the more northern of the southern states, while the rest were carried out of the state by their masters, who preferred to emigrate to the more distant states, there to realize a larger amount of profit by these human beings. Then there is also a flourishing trade going on between the Texas and the more northern of the southern states; so that between the trade overland, and by way of the sea, hundreds and thousands of human beings are changing hands, and changing hands for the purpose of enabling the thriving cotton planters of America to enlarge their operations, and to carry on a more extensive trade with the different nations of Europe.—Then with regard to Africa (returning to that country for a moment,) it is estimated by Mr. Baxter, that, in addition to the slaughter of 250,000 human beings for the purpose of obtaining 150,000 for the markets of Christian states, about 100,000 are either carried into captivity or slaughtered in consequence of the trade that is carried on between the natives of Africa and certain Mahometan nations, with whom they trade in these commodities.

Now, sirs, you may ask who are the parties that, in the year 1839, carry on so God-defying a traffic as this? who participate in the profits and in the guilt of such a system as this? I answer, almost every Christian nation in the world. (Hear, hear.) I answer, republican *America*, holding two millions and a half of her children in bondage; importing from 15 to 20 thousand into her southern states, carrying on a traffic in slaves between state and state to the amount of from 150 to 200,000 *per annum*; building ships for the trade, and sending the most fleet-sailing vessels in the world from her dock-yards to sail upon the Atlantic in this most cruel and lawless trade.

I answer again, that *England* nourishes and feeds and sustains this trade. We, the people of this country in which I stand, supply the slavo-traders of Brazil with the inferior cotton goods with which they trade in slaves on the shores of Western Africa. More than £250,000 sterling are every year expended in the purchase of our manufactures; that those manufactures may be exported to Africa, and there be the medium of barter by the white trader on the shore, with the chief who captures his fellow-men, that he may obtain with them the articles of luxury or necessity which he seeks. *Spain*, too, is very largely engaged with this traffic. It is true that we have a treaty with that country—one of the most distinct and absolute treaties ever entered into between one country and another; but, notwithstanding that treaty, the whole practice of that country upon the subject of slavery and the slave trade is an impudent fraud. Cuba is one of the greatest slave markets in the world. Havana, the great port of that island, is one of the most extensive depots for the sale of human beings on the face of the globe: and *Portugal* absolutely supplies the slave traders of the world with flags and papers for stipulated sums, and is the great mistress and carrier of slaves for all the markets of the civilized world. Thus, then, we find that the most polished, the most Christian, the most free countries of the world, are at this hour confederated together to rob Africa of her children, and to hold in perpetual bondage more than six millions of the human family.

Now, all means have been adopted which promise either to check or destroy this traffic. Treaties without number have been signed; compensation money has been poured out with prodigality; colonies have been planted; military stations have been established; ships of war have been sent out; head-money has been given to seamen to stimulate their courage, and to keep alive their vigilance in the abolition of slavery; courts of mixed commission have been formed at the various ports with which we have

connection ; and slave vessels have been condemned, when found engaged in the traffic. It has cost this country, since 1807, when the foreign slave trade was abolished by law, more than 20 millions of pounds sterling, altogether exclusive of the 20 millions given to the West India planters under the name of compensation for the loss of the services of their liberated slaves. [Hear, hear.] And what has been the consequence ? All these means, all these measures, have failed. Not only has the trade not been checked, but it has more than doubled since we abolished it ourselves. Not only have the horrors of the middle passage not been diminished, but they have been incalculably augmented. Fleetness of passage being the great object, as many human beings as it was possible to cram into the hold of a slave-vessel have been put therein ; and thus disease, and madness, and despair, have generally slaughtered from one-third to one-half of those who were put on board the vessel on the shores of Africa.—(Hear, hear.)

Now, how are we to hope to put down this traffic ? By our correspondence and diplomatic intercourse with the nations of the world ? How long, in the opinion of the most sanguine individual, will it be ere a confederacy of all the nations, now engaged in this traffic, shall be witnessed for the purpose of putting down the odious trade ? Will it be done in fifty years ? Grant that, in half a century, we may behold the nations of Europe and America united—the heads of their governments united—to put down this trade ; yet, from eleven to *twenty millions* would have perished during that time. (Hear, hear.) But not only is such a confederacy hopeless, but a confederacy of nations, if it could be obtained, would be useless. The motive would exist ; the means would exist ; the premium would be offered ; the market would be open ; the fruits of slave labor would be demanded ; and, notwithstanding money might be given, and treaties signed, and Congresses of nations might be held ; and solemn vows be mutu-

ally plighted, as in the cases of Spain, of the United States, and of Portugal; the dictates of humanity, the requirements of justice, the laws of God, and the laws of nations, would be set at defiance; and men, in thousands, would be found wicked enough, bold enough, and cunning enough, to engage in this traffic; and Africa would still be as largely pillaged of her children as she now is, because the means adopted would be ineffectual, depending upon the sincerity and good faith of men, not only those who immediately sign the treaties in question, but upon all those who were beneath them, without whose co-operation, fidelity and assistance, it would be impossible to accomplish the object thus honorably and sincerely sought. (Cloud applause.) It is plain, therefore, that all mere diplomatic and political instrumentalities have failed; and it is equally plain that they are doomed to fail, throughout all succeeding years and ages. You must find, therefore, some other means of putting down this trade. And what remains? It is said we must influence the literature of Europe; we must put this trade under the ban; we must expose it to the scorn and execration of the world. I freely grant that this ought to be done. To some extent it has been done for thirty years. By the consent of several Christian nations, it has been regarded and denominated as a most wicked and unlawful traffic; but still the trade has gone on. It is said we must bring our religious influence to bear upon those nations who carry on the traffic. I freely grant that this instrumentality ought to be, and to some extent has been employed. We have brought our religious influence to bear, in a great measure, upon this question. Certain religious bodies in this country have labored, and not unsuccessfully, to impress upon corresponding bodies on the other side of the Atlantic, the duty and the necessity of abolishing this traffic; and, as far as more than one of these bodies is concerned, the traffic has been abolished. (Applause.) But no fewer slaves have been held, no fewer cruelties have been per-

petrated, and no less an amount of produce has been reared by unpaid labor, and the sweat of enslaved human beings. (Hear, hear.) It has been said, we must unite the services of the friends of freedom throughout the world, in behalf of the slave. I agree that this should be done; I hope it soon will be done; but, if they only fix upon those means which have been hitherto used, if they try none but those instrumentalities which, up to this moment, have been advocated and put into practice, they will still fail to reach the fountain head and source of this most abominable system.

But, sirs, I ask if all the means to which I have referred were resorted to, and if they were in the course of prosecution with the hope of success, if we did nothing more, should we as a nation (I speak now of Great Britain) be consistent; should we have any right to call upon God to bless our agency, if we did nothing more? Have we nothing to leave undone in this matter, as well as to do? Is there not something we should shun, as well as something we should pursue? Is there not something we should cautiously and unitedly avoid, as dishonorable, as fostering this trade in mankind, as well as many things we should do in order to render the system odious and disreputable? I think there is; and I do not hesitate to say, that, when our remonstrances shall be heard—when our epistles shall be widely read—when our literature shall receive an abolition complexion—when our instrumentalities, merely moral, shall produce a certain effect upon the minds and reasoning faculties of those who are engaged in upholding the systems of slavery and the slave trade—if we have, up to that hour, done nothing more—if, in a word, we have neglected that which I shall shortly point out as our duty to do—we shall become the taunt, and bye-word, and hissing of the nations of the world. For, to make those remonstrances powerful—to render our conduct in other respects sincere and consistent—we shall be called upon by the slave, and by his master, and by every sober-

minded and rational man on the face of the world, to withdraw our direct and indirect influence and support from the system ; to " touch not, taste not, handle not, the unclean thing." (Loud applause.) For what is the fact at this hour ? Why that, but for the nourishment derived from this country, there would have been now no slavery in the United States. (Hear, hear.) But for the direct and continued support given by successive governments to the slavery of the West Indies, slavery in our colonies would have died a natural death many years ago. It has been our infatuated attachment to slave grown produce, rather than that of free labor, that has kept up slavery in our own colonies so long and that still keeps up slavery in other parts of the world. My friends, if we send our remonstrances to the United States of America, under present circumstances, what can we expect but that they will come back upon us repudiated and contumacious as the offspring of a most spurious and hypocritical philanthropy ? [Hear, hear.] When we utter the voice of expostulation to America, she may, with much reason, reply, " Base hypocrites ; cease your remonstrances, your cotton smells of blood." [Loud applause.] How can we call ourselves sincere, if we waste now and then a quire of paper, or give now and then an hour or an evening, to the discussion of the anti-slavery question ; while every year beholds us handing over to those who task and toil, and lash and brutalise and kill the body and the soul of the slave, some 10, 12, or 14 millions of pounds sterling, per year, for their slave-reared produce ? [" Hear, hear," and applause.]

Now, sirs, if in addition to this evil done to Africa, and to the slaves of America, it should appear that we are inflicting also a direct and grievous injury on the inhabitants of British India, our own fellow-subjects, then will it be proved to the world that we are guilty of two evils, in leaving undone what we ought to do to mitigate the condition of one hundred millions of the East ; and inflicting on the slaves of America the foulest wrong, in

that we are supplying to their tormentors and task-masters the bribe and the remuneration which they seek for carrying on their trade. [Applause.] Now, sirs, I hesitate not to say that the consumption of tropical produce in this country is a subject of incalculable importance to the interests of freedom and humanity; and I would earnestly exhort the anti-slavery public of this great nation to look well at the question in all its bearings. The demand for tropical produce is already immense. On a former occasion I took the opportunity of stating to what extent we imported tropical produce into this country, and already large and influential bodies are petitioning for a reduction in the amount of duties on the produce of slave labor from Brazil and elsewhere; and it was only the other day that your late representative, the present Governor-General of the Canadas, stated it as his opinion that we could not fairly ask for the encouragement of the free-labor produce of Siam, and China, and Hayti, without, at the same time—according to all the treaties we have signed with Brazil, the United States and other slave-holding countries—opening our ports to the admission, upon equal terms, of their produce also. [Hear, hear.] Now we know what the desire for cheap food is; we know what the hatred of monopoly is in this country; and I look forward with distress and dismay to the time when so loud and powerful shall be the demand for the extinction of all monopoly, and for the free introduction of the produce of every part of the world—[“Hear,” and applause]—that we shall behold an additional impetus given by the freedom with which the produce of slave countries is received into this country, to that system which we all hate, and the downfall of which we all most fervently desire. Now, it is asked by some of the friends of humanity, with more of credit as it regards their feelings than their knowledge, with respect to the treaties we have entered into with other countries—that we should admit the produce of Java, and China, and Siam, and Hayti, and other places, where

free labor, and free labor only, is known, into our ports, upon an equal footing with the produce of our own West India or British India colonies. But while we have treaties with the United States and other nations, which bind us to put them upon a footing of equality with the most favored nations with which we have to do, you perceive that we cannot avail ourselves of the free produce of the countries I have named, without admitting the produce of those countries where they hold slaves, and gross<sup>t</sup> the articles we want only by slave labor, without a most wilful breach of that good faith which, up to this moment, has been observed both on the one side and on the other. [Hear.] See then the importance, the absolute necessity, of looking to the East Indies. [Hear.] Go to your own dominions; visit your limitless empire in the East: grow the articles you want there; call into activity the energies of one hundred millions of willing husbandmen—[applause ;]—and you avoid all collision with other nations—you improve the condition of countless multitudes of your fellow-subjects—you let treaties remain just where they are—you need no ships of war—you violate no principles of trade—you break no solemn engagements—you infringe no laws of nations—your own ships bring the produce here, and your own ships carry your manufactures there; and you prepare the way for the removal even of existing duties and restrictions. For if we were to encourage the East, and allow a fair competition between the free labor of the East and the slave labor of the West, we might open our ports as wide as they could be extended, and give every other nation of the world a chance of selling their produce in this market; so successful would be the competition between the free and willing industry of our Eastern fellow-subjects, and the labor of the slaves who are held in bondage in the Western parts of the world. [Loud applause.] I must here notice, for a moment, a topic closely connected with this branch of the subject. It was our inattention to the resources of India, which led

to the commencement of that infamous traffic in the natives of India which our own government, in an evil hour, sanctioned by an order in council. Had the produce of India been encouraged, or permitted fair play, it never would have entered into the day dreams or the night musings of the planters of Demerara or the Mauritius to go to Calcutta, and hire men to kidnap the natives of the country, and then to be at the expense of transporting their victims to the shores of the Isle of France or America. But we furnished the inducement and paid the price by our own neglect of the soil and the people of India. The villainous trade was commenced, and for a time flourished. Cochin, Bombay, Pondicherry, and Calcutta, suddenly became marts for the sale and transportation of coolies; a system of man-catching was regularly organized by the native tools employed in the business; advertisements were impudently published in the papers of London and elsewhere, making offers of agency in the trade, and soon thirty thousand coolies were transported to the one colony of the Mauritius, besides a considerable number to the plantations of Demerara. But for the interference of the British people, this abominable system would have been in full operation at this moment. But, I repeat, it was entirely the consequence of our neglect of India. Could any thing be more monstrous, or more fully demonstrative of our great and cruel neglect of India, than the fact that the planters of Demerara could afford to employ agents at Calcutta to kidnap men and women on their own shores, to pay the expense of their transportation to Demerara, and to keep them there at work, at an expense of £37 per head, when the sugar, which they were employed to grow on the shores of Demerara might have been grown on the banks of the Ganges, and landed on the wharf at Liverpool for £18 per ton? (Applause.) And yet Mr. Gladstone, who was largely connected with the system to which I have referred, stated in his letter to Lord Glenelg at that time, that these men

and women would cost him £37 per head per year when he got them to Demarara; and the same gentleman has stated recently, that he could put upon the wharf at Liverpool sugar from Calcutta, as good as that grown upon his own plantation in Demarara, at £18 per ton, while the latter is not grown for less than £42 per ton. (Loud applause.)

But, sirs, it is but justice to others that I should state what I do with extreme pleasure and satisfaction, that the abolition of slavery and the slave trade by the encouragement of free labor in India, is no now thought. It is no wonderful discovery in the year 1839. Many years ago that honorable and excellent man, not now permitted, by the state of his health, to engage actually in this and other schemes of benevolence, (I mean Mr. James Cropsper, of Liverpool)—(applause)—that inestimable philanthropist, labored for years in this cause; his pen, his tongue, his time, his money, were lavishly bestowed upon the great work of demonstrating that we had but to look from the slave plantations of the West to the plains of India in the East, to obtain from the latter such a supply of cheap produce as would effectually put down the system that was staining and disgracing the former.—(Hear, hear.) I may refer, too, to the labors of Mr. Adam Hodgson, (another enlightened gentleman of Liverpool) who in 1826 published a valuable pamphlet in the form of a letter to a distinguished Frenchman, on the comparative value of free and slave labor, in which it is made most apparent that we had only to do justice to British India in order to accomplish all our wishes and designs in reference to the West. This enlightened view is taken up and most ably developed in a pamphlet sent forth by the abolitionists of Birmingham in 1827. It is entitled "A short review of the slave trade and slavery, with considerations on the benefit that would arise from the cultivation of tropical productions by free labor." I beg your attention to one or two short paragraphs from this valuable pamphlet, inasmuch as they, with singular

distinctness, set forth the doctrines which I have been laboring to diffuse on this great question.

"Let it not," says this well-written pamphlet, "for one moment be forgotten, that the people of England are the supporters of slavery; and that, by a large annual pecuniary sacrifice, they not only uphold it in all its unmitigated malignity, but prevent the operation of a principle which would soon terminate its existence."

The pamphlet then proceeds to discuss the subject at considerable length, and demonstrates that the encouragement of East India produce would effect the downfall of slavery and the slave trade all over the world. In reference to the growth of indigo, the only experiment which had been fairly tried up to that time, the author says:—

"Forty years ago, little or no indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave labor." [I beg especial attention to these facts; because what is here said of indigo will hold equally true with respect to cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco.] "A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance, yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free labor into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freights (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market indigo grown by slaves; until, at length, with the help of the free trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of indigo, the produce of slave labor, imported into Europe; while the value of the indigo grown

in British India amounts to nearly four millions sterling annually." (Applause.)

Then respecting other measures for the abolition of slavery, the writer says:—

"Any laws we may enact for the mitigation of slavery can only reach a very small part of the evil. All British laws must be confined to the British dominions; and out of 5,600,000 slaves in the Western world, the British dominions contain only 720,000. Should we even emancipate our own slaves, there would still remain nearly 5,000,000 of the African race in a state of bondage.—But as the beneficial effects of the free cultivation of indigo by British skill and capital in the East, were not confined to the British colonies, but prepared the way for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish dominions of America, so *a similar competition of free labor in the raising of cotton and sugar, and other tropical productions, now cultivated by slaves, would extend its benignant influence to every human being now held in slavery.* Legislative enactments may do a great deal to mitigate the evils of slavery in our own colonies: they may even terminate its existence *there*, and it is therefore our imperative duty to employ them; but if ever we hope to eradicate this deeply disgraceful institution from every country on the globe which it now desolates, it is to the unfettered competition of free-born industry alone that we can look with any rational prospect of success. In the case of indigo, the only article of slave production in which that competition has been fairly tried, its efficacy, as above stated, has been signal and complete. It is a remarkable fact, that the first few chests of indigo, the produce of free labor in the East, arrived in England in 1787, just about the time when the first efforts were making for the abolition of the slave trade. We have witnessed the fate of those efforts—we have seen that, although incessantly exerted for thirty-eight years, they have not diminished

to any perceptible amount, the number of our fellow-creatures torn from the shores of Africa, or held in bondage in America. But, during the same period, the cultivation of indigo by free labor has advanced with such rapidity in the East, that it is now estimated to employ nearly 500,000 free persons, and the article has ceased to be cultivated by slaves. As far, therefore, as this article is concerned, the competition of free labor, by a silent but sure operation, has effected the entire destruction of the slave trade and of slavery, and may be justly considered, at the present moment, to have saved 500,000 human beings, *amounting to nearly two-thirds* of the whole male population of our West India colonies, from a cruel and degrading bondage. It is only necessary, as in the case of indigo, to direct British skill and capital to the cultivation of sugar in that quarter, (India) in order to put an end to its cultivation by slave labor, not only in the British colonies, but in every part of the world."

If these be the sentiments of the abolitionists of Birmingham still,—if what they wrote and published in 1827 they believe in 1839,—then shall we have the zeal and the influence and the efforts of that distinguished body with us; and they will be as untiring, and I trust as successful, in their efforts to explore the resources of the East, as they have been in their efforts to destroy the slavery of the West. (Applause.) One more very short passage from this pamphlet,—it is so exceedingly a *propos* that I could not omit to quote it. Speaking of the advantages which would result from a better system towards our Indian possessions, the writer observes:—

"What a vast field is opened, by means of an intercourse and influence like this, for diffusing the blessings of civilization and religious light among the many millions in India now sunk in ignorance and idolatry! While India is receiving these inestimable blessings, Africa herself will advance with rapid progress in the career of im-

provement. Relieved from the scourge which has spread barbarism and desolation over her shores, she will soon commence a more beneficial intercourse with the nations of Europe. In the peaceful interchange of our manufactures for the varied productions of her free and fertile soil, a commerce will arise equally advantageous to both parties; and, by communicating the arts of civilized life and the knowledge of the gospel to her children, we shall be enabled to make some reparation for the centuries of wrong which we have inflicted. If such are the benefits which would arise from the unshackled competition of free labor, it becomes the imperative duty of every one to employ his most strenuous exertions for bringing about an end of such inestimable importance." Again he says:—" *By a determined encouragement of free labor, we may not only compel other European nations to abandon the slave trade, by making it not worth their pursuit, but we may also compel our own colonial subjects, and the subjects of every other power in America, to abandon slavery itself.*"

Such, sirs, was the view taken, twelve years ago, of the importance of the subject which I have had the honor of discussing in this town. The soundness of this view is confirmed by the experience we have since had; and I repeat it, I trust that abolitionists generally will see it to be their duty to obey the word of exhortation which I have just read out of the valuable pamphlet published in Birmingham.

The movement, in regard to India, has been already hailed by the friends of freedom in different parts of the world, as the dawn of a brighter day for Africa and the slaves of the West. I have been struck with the singular degree of approbation which has been bestowed upon the recent labors that have been performed in behalf of British India. Some months ago, we held a meeting in the Friends' meeting house in London; and a very full and correct account of the proceedings of that meeting

went out to the United States of America, as well as to India ; and very soon after the arrival of the report on the other side of the Atlantic, I received a letter from an American clergyman, with whom I had not corresponded for three years. He says :—

" The other day I saw in the Bay of New York, three American slavers. The public papers, in speaking upon this subject, say that there are at least one hundred American vessels at present engaged in the traffic. In fact the love of gain is so deeply rooted in the American heart, both in the north and south, that slavery can never be abolished but by some plan similar to that which you have proposed ; and I am so fully convinced of this, that I would be most happy to go immediately to England as an agent, to act in connection with the society which you and your friends have lately formed. It is so well adapted to accomplish the purpose you have in view, that I would be rejoiced to be engaged in forwarding its interests. I think the observations I have made in this country—the experience which I have had by actual residence in the free and slave states, and the facts which have come to my knowledge, not second-hand, but as an eye-witness, might be made available for the accomplishment of the grand three-fold object you have in view—the destruction of the slave trade, the abolition of slavery, and the mitigation of the sufferings of the people of India."

I quote this extract to show how the movement here has affected the mind of an individual deeply interested in the question of negro emancipation in the United States. But beyond this, I have received within the last few days,—since I left Manchester after my last lecture,—a long letter, which I shall not read, but merely refer to, from the Anti-slavery Society of Massachusetts, signed by the chairman, and also by W. L. Garrison, corresponding secretary of that society. The letter is written with a special view of recognising the great importance

and beneficial tendency of the society we have recently formed in London. And in addition to this, I have before me an extract from a long and truly eloquent letter, written to me by one of the most influential members of the society just referred to, in which he very clearly states the importance of our movement in connection with the cause of anti-slavery. This is from a gentleman of a distinguished family in Boston, United States, educated to the bar, and temporarily residing in Europe for the purpose of benefitting, if possible, the health of his lady, which has been very delicate for some time, and who is now in France.

[Here Mr. Thompson gives an extract from a letter of Wendall Phillips, Esq., highly commending the efforts of the British India Society—and says, “it seals the fate of the slave system in America;” and furthermore says to Mr. Thompson, “you cannot imagine the impulse this new development of England’s power will give the anti-slavery cause in the United States.”]

I have done now, sirs, with details. I have said enough to set before you a most glorious object. Three sections of the world may be benefitted by what you have it in your power to do. You can raise India; you can emancipate America; you can redeem and regenerate Africa. And are you not called upon to do this? Does not consistency demand it? Does not your Christian character require it? Does not your moral influence bind you to exert yourselves in behalf of a world desolated to gratify the cupidity and lust of power of a handful of wicked men? Your national prosperity, too, is bound up in the question. Your love of justice prompts you, bleeding misery implores you, to do justice to India. I do trust, therefore, that we shall not make an appeal, as the British India Society, to the abolitionists of this country in vain. I have shown you in former addresses, that a great article of manufacture in this country, cotton, may

be grown in India to any extent whatsoever. I am prepared to show, whenever occasion requires, and time will permit, that also as to coffee, rice, tobacco, and sugar, these articles may all be obtained, and to an indefinite extent, from that country. Why, then, should we depend altogether upon other countries? As I said, when I first addressed you, I come not here to plead the cause of monopoly. Perish monopoly. (Applause.) As I abhor a monopoly of light, as I would not circumscribe the beams of day, so neither would I put bonds upon the honorable intercourse and reciprocation of trade and of settlement amongst mankind. But without supporting monopoly, without vindicating the cause of restriction, I ask you to be just to India; to give fair play to those who have hitherto been circumscribed and crippled in their industrious operations; and you will at once bring a principle into action that will be fatal to slavery all over the world. The sugar cane is indigenous to British India; its production, owing to the slight encouragement it has received since the equalization of the duties, has very greatly increased. During the year ending September, 1837, we imported from British India 346,760 bags; and in the year ending September, 1838, we imported 528,589 bags, being an increase in one year of 181,289 bags. Then, again, labor is so cheap, that it may be obtained in every part of the country where sugar may be grown, for from one to two rupees per month; and there is every reason to look forward to the introduction of the very best kind of sugar cane to that country; so that, instead of having to open our ports to the introduction of slave-grown sugar from Brazil or Cuba, to which I look forward as the only alternative, if we do not benefit British India, we may receive from the latter country not only enough for ourselves, but also enough to supply those other markets which now depend exclusively upon that which is grown by slave labor. I need not trouble you with extracts in proof of this, because the thing is notorious, and is dwelt upon in

all the recent works published having a bearing on this subject. To show you to what extent an article may be grown in India in a few years, if encouraged, I would instance the case of linseed. Prior to 1830 we were in the habit of importing large quantities of linseed from Russia, expressing the oil here, sending it out in casks to Calcutta, thence transporting it at a great expense up the country to paint the gun carriages and other things at the civil and military stations. While we were doing this for years, linseed was growing wild all around every one of those stations. (Hear, hear.) And in 1832, in order to prove to the people of this country that linseed was grown in India, *ten bushels* were sent here; in 1833 the quantity sent was 2,163 bushels; and in 1835 we imported from India *ten thousand tons*. (Hear, hear.) Now couple this with what I have said with respect to indigo, to cotton, and to sugar, and you will see what an exhaustless supply might be obtained from that country. But I have been reminded, that I am at this period to pause for a few moments; and what I shall have to say subsequently will occupy but a short time. Whilst I rest, some friends will go round, and gather up your contributions. I am exceedingly glad to inform you, that, owing to your liberality at the four previous meetings, and to several subscriptions most freely handed to me, I was enabled, on Friday week, to take up to the British India Society, as the first fruits of our operations in Manchester, £120.— That sum was very gratefully acknowledged; it was exceedingly seasonable; it arrived at a period when the committee were a little anxious for pecuniary supplies, and it demonstrated that this cause had but to be presented to the British public, to be received as its importance demands. Whatever you give to-night, as formerly, will be directly handed over to those who have been appointed; and you may be assured, that whatever human energy and zeal can do, will be done to advance the inter-

ests of this country, with respect to which I have now addressed you so frequently from this place.

[A short digression made while the contribution was taking up, is here omitted.]

On resuming his address, after a pause, during which the collection was made, Mr. Thompson said,—I would here state, that on a former occasion I referred to the recent efforts that had been made to cultivate tea in India; and I fear that, owing to the want of a retentive memory on the subject, I made some misquotation in reference to figures, and I would like to set at rest any doubt upon that subject. Being intimately acquainted with the gentleman who originated in London the Assam Tea Company, and meeting with that gentleman here, he gave me some account of their operations. What he told me, and what I had intended to state, though perhaps I did not distinctly state it, was, that *ninety* chests of tea were then on their way from the newly-discovered tea country in Assam to this country; and that this gentleman had received advices, that in January next *nine hundred* *chests* of tea would be shipped; and that there was a fair prospect of our being able to supply ourselves, in the course of a few years, with all the tea we require, from our own dominions.—(Applause.) This fact, taken in connection with the present most critical and unpleasant aspect of our affairs with China, may be regarded as worthy of cordial congratulation. And here I may make a passing remark on the subject of tea, as the fact may not be known to all here,—that in 1660 an act was passed in this country, imposing a duty of 1s. 6d. per gallon upon tea, ready made, and retailed and drunk in public-houses. [Laughter.] And in 1836, no fewer than 49,307,701 lbs. of tea were imported into Great Britain.

I would now beg those who listen to me to connect this subject, in all their thoughts, with the great question of the regeneration and salvation of Africa. I am exceed-

ingly thankful, that the public attention has been drawn to Africa ; to the present distracted and desolated condition of that continent ; to the extent and the horrid character of the slave system ; and to the capacity of Africa (respecting which I have said nothing) to produce all we require of tropical produce. And although I have said nothing at present on this subject, I am far from desiring to keep in the back ground the ability of that continent, as well as India, to furnish us abundantly with tropical produce. Africa could give us cotton in abundance ; she could give us gums, and hard woods, and dyes, tobacco and sugar. In fact, there is scarcely a plant or a shrub of tropical growth, which might not be obtained in abundance from Africa. Yet Central Africa now receives for all her exports to this country less than half a million (declared value) of imports, one-half of which may be said to be goods of the worst description, and one-third is made up of guns and ammunition. Why, the feathers received in Liverpool from Ireland reached an amount exceeding that of all the productions of Central Africa imported into this country ; the eggs from France received in this country exceed the whole value of our African imports ; and the value of the pigs received from Ireland in Liverpool is three times as great as all the imports into Great Britain of produce from Central Africa. [Hear.] But I cannot be insensible to the advantages of India over Africa. India is a settled and civilised country, which Africa is not. India is ours, which Africa is not. The climate of India is genial, which that of Africa is not. India is accessible, which Africa is not at present. Over the whole extent of British India, and on every part of it, we might grow the produce that is suited to the soil and to the climate, and to the customs of the natives. It is not so with regard to Africa. In India we have no chiefs to subsidize ; no tribes to locate ; no barbarians to tame ; no unhealthy climate to contend with ; no unknown rivers to explore ; we have no wicked and dishonorable trade to

supplant. All those things have to be done in Africa. I shall not pretend to guess the plan which certain benevolent and eminent men have devised for doing good to that country. Heaven grant that their plans may be successful, and hasten the day when that continent shall be saved from the incursions of the man-stealer? But as the friend of Africa,—claiming to be as much the friend of Africa as he who directs his attention exclusively to that country,—as the friend of Africa, I say look to India. (Hear.) Would you give security to Africa, would you starve the man-stealer from her shores? Would you dispense with ships of war around her shores, and render unnecessary the outlay of immense funds now employed? Would you give security to that now harassed, impoverished, and disembowelled country? Look to India. You may immediately bring your cotton, your sugar, your rice, from thence; and as sure as you import it into this country, so surely will you stop, immediately and for ever, the demand for slaves. (Applause.) And thus you are doing peacefully, and by most unexceptionable means, without lavish expenditure, without embassies, without treaties, without Congresses, without any violation, direct or indirect, of any existing treaty, you are doing that which cannot be done, if you look at Africa only and forget India, without a vast deal of expense. Much time must elapse, much pains must be taken, many failures must be sustained, ere we can hope to see the plans that may be devised, however sapient the benevolence that originated, or active the energy that may work them, carried into successful operation. I say, therefore, look to India. If you can but render slavery so far unprofitable—unnecessary, and therefore unprofitable—as to put down the trade in slaves, then you immediately restore to the shore of Africa what she has not known for centuries—that peace of which she has been deprived by the christians of Europe. Then you can introduce commerce and civilization into Africa, without the fear of being thwarted in your plans by the

superior temptation placed in the way of the barbarian chief, by the prowler and kidnapper along her shores ; then you can dispense with your armed cruisers, your tenders and steam-boats ; then you may make treaties with the native chiefs, who will be glad, for they will be compelled to do so, seeing that you will be the only party before them, the other party having been dismissed from their shores by the operation of this most powerful and pacific principle ; then will you extend the benefits of education, for you can lead the mind of the African from the worship of Obeah to the pure and life-giving worship of the one God. But until you do this, I believe that you will have to contend with many difficulties,—some foreseen at the present moment, and others unforeseen,—which will arise up and meet you at every step of the journey ; while in the other path which I have pointed out to you, you will find nothing but smoothness and pleasantness in comparison.

We see, then, both what are the consequences of neglecting India, and what would be the results which would flow from a due attention to India. At the present moment we are guilty of the blood of the African. It is vain for us to contend, that we are an anti-slavery nation. In profession we are ; I would even admit that in feeling and intention, and that to some degree in action, we are ; but in effect we are not an anti-slavery nation. The little we have done for the West Indies and for Africa is nothing in comparison with the injury we have done to those countries : and these views are not mine merely. As long ago as the year 1826, in an eloquent address put forth by the Leicester anti-slavery society, upon which my eye fell to-day, I find the following language :—

“ In opposition to the dictates of humanity, the precepts of religion, and the principles of political economy and impartial justice, we contribute more to perpetuate our own disgrace, than it would be deemed prudent to bestow in the purchase of the greatest blessing. All our plans of domestic improvement, joined to all the efforts which we

make for the diffusion of religion and virtue in foreign nations—our schools, our Bible societies, and our missions, justly considered as the peculiar glory of the age—cost us it mere scantling, compared to what is annually devoted to that very pious and benevolent object, the perpetuation of slavery in the West Indies;—we throw mites into the treasury of the sanctuary, and heap ingots on the altar of Moloch."

And this is as substantially true at the present hour as it was at the hour when these lines were penned. I have demonstrated already, that we are paying every year from fifteen to twenty millions for the support of slavery; while, by looking to our own British possessions, we might obtain our articles cheaper; we might send to those dependencies a much greater amount of our manufactures; we might promote the prosperity of the parent empire; we might give employment to our starving and dissatisfied fellow-citizens at home; we might give peace and security to Africa, and proclaim the year of deliverance to the slaves of America. (Applause.)

I shall not now trespass further upon your time. I trust I have succeeded, though aware of many imperfections in this address, in showing you that this great question has an anti-slavery aspect; not a questionable, equivocal, or dubious aspect, but a clear, open, plain, and unequivocal aspect in favor of the abolition of slavery. I think I have succeeded in showing, that every step you take towards the advancement of the comfort and the prosperity of the nations of India, is a mighty step made in favor of the extinction of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world.

\* \* \* \* \*

I will not yield in reverence and in affection to any, for those enterprises which are of a religious and a spiritual kind; but when I see men perishing by millions, as in India—when I see them enslaved by millions, as in Ameri-

ca--when I see them destroyed o I desolated by millions, as in Africa—and this, too, by men calling themselves christians, I scarcely dare hope that the cross can be exulted with honor or success in the eyes of pagan nations, till so foul a reproach shall be rolled away, and Christendom shall be purified from the stain of blood, and the disgrace of the slave trade. (Applause.) But when we shall have done our duty as a nation, as a christian nation, as the governors of India, and as the friends of Africa and America, then may we hope, and rationally hope, that we shall see that great cause in which all our hearts are bound up,—the cause of religion, the cause of christianity making way among the nations of the earth; then every heavy yoke will be broken, and the oppressed set free in the four sections of the globe; and, above all, our own country will be entirely irreproachable in this matter. That this may soon come to pass, let us all, with one heart and consent, unite ourselves on to a cause which seems to promise so much, and upon the soundest principles.

Delightful thought! Then blessed be the band  
That form'd our elemental clay, and made  
Us what we are. It is worth while to live,  
If we may live to purposes so great.  
Awake our dormant zeal! For ever flaine  
With generous ardor in this holy cause,  
And let each head, each heart, each hand, and all,  
Spend and be spent, in service so divine!

(Applause.)

The next meeting will be held in this place on Thursday evening next at half-past six o'clock.—The lecturer resumed his seat, apparently much fatigued, having spoken an hour and forty minutes.

## SIXTH LECTURE.

ON Thursday evening the sixth and last of this valuable series of lectures on British India was delivered by Mr. George Thompson, in the Friends' Meeting-house, Mount-street, Dickinson-street, to a very numerous auditory, there being probably from a thousand to twelve hundred ladies and gentlemen present.

Mr. Thompson, when the applause with which he was greeted by his auditory had subsided, commenced his address in the following terms :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—In the progress of the lectures which I have delivered in this place, I have distinctly stated the objects, principles, and purposes of the British India Society, in connection with whose operations these addresses have been delivered. I have endeavored to exhibit the character of the natives of India, according to the accounts furnished by the most competent and impartial authorities. I have briefly narrated the history of the East India Company, and spoken of the present character and functions of that distinguished body. I have not, as you will bear me witness, sought to bring individuals into contempt—(hear)—or to demolish the present framework of government ; but, while I have fearlessly exposed defects, and denounced oppression, I have jealously guarded against the imputation of motives upon slight and insufficient grounds. (Hear.) So far from an endeavor to render the East India Company odious, I have avoided all reference, even the slightest, to those events which in past years have been the occasions of so much eloquent declamation, and so many grievous charges against the rulers of India. It is true I have asserted the paramount authority of parliament, and the abiding responsibility of the people of this country to watch over the concerns of British India ; but not only have I not recommended the transfer of all power to a minister of the crown, I have expressly stated my belief that India will only be well

governed so long as there shall be a lively and generous interest in her affairs felt by the public of this country.—(Hear, and applause.) I cannot, therefore, be fairly charged with aiming to prostrate the present government of India, and place the power and dominion exclusively in the hands of an individual minister of the crown. I have drawn your attention (and this has been a prominent and ever-present object) to the *agricultural* resources of India. I have labored to show how capable India is of supplying to you, in any quantity, the crude material, and of taking from you in return the varied manufactures of this country. I have endeavored to demonstrate, that a hearty and energetic movement towards India—the application of British capital and skill—the encouragement of native industry—the improvement of the means of internal communication, and the importation into British ports of the products of the East, would prove the most efficient and the only infallible cure of the accursed systems of slavery and the slave trade, now desolating the earth and invoking the anger of Heaven.—While attending to these things, I have endeavored to keep steadily in view the benevolent end of our exertions—the bettering of the condition of countless millions of our fellow-subjects, whose condition and claims have been hitherto despised, forgotten, or overlooked. For the proof of this, I refer to the copious reports which have been furnished and circulated amongst you.

It is certainly too late in the day to be told, that we have nothing to do with India. Neither as Christians, as citizens, nor as merchants, can we receive such a doctrine. Our religion, our politics, and our ideas of commercial intercourse, alike repudiate so barbarous and antiquated a notion. Those were truly noble words addressed by a governor-general of India, the Marquis of Hastings, to the students of Fort William College, in August, 1820. They are words worthy of a great and generous mind,

and deserve to be registered in all our hearts. That distinguished statesman and ruler said—

"The indigent require a sustaining hand—the distressed require soothing—the perplexed require counsel—the injured require redress; they who present themselves to me in these predicaments are my fellow-men—and I am a Briton." (Applause.)

Sirs, we have to do with every nation on the face of the earth—with all, especially, whom our laws, our religion, our literature, or our trade can reach. But above all, have we to do with the parts of the earth we call our own, which are denominated our *dependencies*—with those which we *govern*—from which we draw our *wealth*—to which we send our *merchandise*. If the inhabitants of any of these be weak, or ignorant, or oppressed, they have a sacred claim upon us. (Hear, hear.) They make their appeal—and it is a solemn one—to our pity, our magnanimity, and our justice. Are they impotent?—we are strong: are they in darkness?—we have the lamp of life: are they disfranchised?—they make their appeal to us who live under a government which we fashion and control; which mirrors forth and acts out whatever principles and intentions are vigorously maintained, and unequivocally expressed. Woe be to us if we neglect or abuse either our privileges or our power! (Hear, hear.) Nothing to do with India! Is it nothing to us that hundreds of thousands of our fellow-subjects perish of hunger during a few months? (Hear, hear.) Is it nothing to us that poverty, wretchedness, and discontent, cover the face of a glorious and fertile land? (Hear.) Is it nothing to us that the slave bleeds and dies to give us that which might be taken from the surface of our own territory by the cheerful, free, and happy subject of the British sway? Is it nothing to us that the crimes, and the blood, and the guilt of a trade, which rends the continent of Africa, and demonizes all who participate in it, may

be told in a great part at our door). Is it nothing to us whether we meet the taunting whilst awake, or, calm and assured in the quietness that we have done what we could, of shifting from the gaze of those whose afflictions we have left unspotted, and troubling in the presence of them who will say, "Wretched as ye are! (not to one of the least of them, ye did it not unto me.)" (Clear, clear, loud, long.) We meet daily, that we have something to do with India—that in every point of view we have a great deal to do with India; and for India, and through India—*we assert that the prosperity of India is the sine qua non of England.* (Clear, clear, loud applause.) Let, therefore, the whole fabric be surveyed away with fear: away with imputations upon the motives of our fellow-men, who comes forward to read, and study, and inquire, and talk, and investigate, and observe; let the foundations of our dominion in the East be fully tested—let the administration of India be fairly judged—let the entire question of Indian policy be discussed—let every branch of Eastern affairs be fully canvassed—let the evils that exist be known—let the resources of India be explored—let the teeming riches of the soil, the industry of the inhabitants, the variety of the products, the facilities for commerce, be loudly and universally proclaimed. If there be grievances, let their number and their magnitude and their nature be exposed, and a power adequate to redress them be awakened and directed. (Applause.) I freely grant, I fully feel, the great, the prominent necessity which exists for calmness, impartiality, discrimination, and persevering investigation; and I have much restrained myself during the delivery of the five addresses now past, lest I should go back to traverse ground, the survey of which would not be calculated either to inspire very pleasant feelings touching the conduct of the East India Company, or as to the character of our own country in reference to British India. I admit that no partial views—no party feelings—no petty animosities—no per-

small objects, should be pointed to break off continually, or promptly off, in regard to British India. Large and enlightened movements—solid political and commercial associations—Christian and patriotic principles. Above all distinguish all we do in reference to British India. While I condone all this, and also that all men are not abolitionists, philanthropists, or good political revolutionaries, I contend, nevertheless, that general attention should be attracted to India, and that great efforts should be made to improve the improvement of India, stimulated, encouraged, and strengthened by the universal interest in the subject of their deliberations. It is to bring the nation into this state that the British India Society has been formed. What they do will be done with ardour, but with candor—with temperance, but with energy.

In furtherance of the designs of the British India Society, I have delivered the present course of lectures.—You are the judges of the spirit I have manifested—of the principles I have avowed—of the maxims I have recommended, and of the motives to which I have appealed.—On looking back upon our meetings, and upon what I have spoken, I have nothing to regret but the feebleness and imperfections of him who has been called to direct your minds to so great and momentous a theme. (Applause.)

It has been stated in print, that "it would be easy to fix on particular instances of mis-statement and perversion of truth in these lectures sufficient to cast a reflection of dubiousness on the whole." Such instances, however, have not been fixed upon—(here, here, and applause)—and as I am not conscious either of "mis-statement," or "perversion of truth," I must wait until the institution is justified by a quotation from my lectures. (Here.) Let me remind the writer by whom these things have been said, that he has preferred a very heavy accusation, and is liable to feel his charges recoil upon himself, if he does

not demonstrate that they were justly made. (Hear.) What I have spoken is before the world. If the writer to whom I have referred does not present my lectures, or does not accept their authenticity in their present form, I am willing to put them this night into his possession, and he endued with the full *veritas et validitas* I have attested. (Applause.)

The gentleman who has stepped forward to "deny my facts," "disprove my testimony," "and, it may be, disprove my eloquence," has preferred to consider them "general allegations" which I have brought against the government, in order that he may comprehend the whole breadth and scope of my allegation within narrow limits. The first allegation mentioned is that respecting "the assumption by the British of the proprietorship of the soil" of India.] "As far," says J. H. (the author of the article of this writer) "as I can discover, by a careful reference to historical records and existing usage, no such assumption has ever been made." We shall see. First, however, let me do what J. H. has omitted to do, refer to the precise language which I have employed upon this subject. In the second lecture I observed,—

"The people have been virtually robbed of the soil—deprived of the fruits of their industry!"

And again,—

"The government has made itself *de facto* the universal landlord—has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent—has fixed an assumed capability on every field to produce—then, an assumed price on the produce of the field—and then fixed, that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of the crop shall be the tax to the state for ever."

In the fourth lecture I spoke as follows:—

"Look at the difficulties in the way of growing cotton: First, the absence of proprietary right in the soil. Here

be the master of all. This is the great judgment of our administration by India. Capitalize the strength of the soil of their right to that soil; utterly despising them; sweeping off all the great landlords and all the little ones to gather; reckoning directly with the cultivators of the subdivided field, and taking from time at hand forty-five per cent. of the gross produce."

If these be not the prophecies referred to, I know of no other prophecy in which I used stronger language in relating to the violent and unmerciful destruction to which I refer. Now you will perceive that, in the first extract, I say, the people have been "wholly" robbed of the soil. In the second, "the government has made itself *de facto* the undivided landlord." J. H. will certainly not plead ignorance of the meaning of such language as "*de facto*" and "*absolutely*." In the third extract, I sufficiently explain what I mean, when I speak of *striking* the natives of their right to the soil, by referring to the principle of taxation, and to its operations as witnessed every day in those parts of India to which I expressly alluded. But it is denied that such is the fact. "Historical records" and "*existing usages*" are appealed to, to disprove the truth of the allegation. It happens, very singularly, that while J. H. was combatting my position respecting the proprietary right assumed by the government of India and flatly denying that the East India Company had ever assumed or asserted such a right, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* was putting forth an article, not only declaring that such a right had been assumed, but boldly vindicating it by an appeal to *history, existing usages*, and to the realized results of the operation of the principles. [After again reading the words of J. H. above quoted]—"That is the language of J. H. Now for the *Morning Chronicle*:

"Throughout the whole of the East, the governments are the proprietors of the whole of the lands, with the ex-

option of certain portions given to religion or other considerations."

*Again,*—

"The East India Company are not landlords of India, simply because they are conquerors ; but because, being conquerors, they stand in the peculiar situation of the Government which they displaced."

*Again,*—

"Sir Thomas Munroe, one of the most sensible men ever yet employed by the East India Company, thoroughly conversant with Indian usages, considered the ryotwari system, or that of keeping all account with each occupier as *direct tenant of the state*, the best for both the government and the peasantry."

*Again,*—

"Would the peasantry of Ireland, for instance, be worse off than they are, if *the state were the universal landlord*, and the produce, after allowing for the maintenance of the multiplying peasantry, were to go to the crown instead of the intermediate proprietors ?"

*Again,*—

"Mehemet Ali is the universal landlord of Egypt, and universal exporter. Indian produce does not find its way to England ; but that is not the fault of the India Company, as sovereigns of India, but of the British and Irish landowners, as sovereigns at home."

These passages are from the *Morning Chronicle*. Here, then, J. H. and the editor of this London journal are fairly at issue ; and, leaving them to decide the matter as they may, I proceed to prove the accuracy—the literal accuracy—of what I have asserted. Did I say the state had made itself the universal landlord ? What said the Hon. Mr. Fullerton, when member of council at Madras,

In 1803—Would you form a correct idea of the operation of the existing system?

"Trusting this whole tract, indeed, that by all the landlords of Great Britain, and even the capital masters, at once swept away from off the face of the earth; and a rent fixed, by *the state*, on every field in the kingdom, generally above the measure of payment."

Let us now take the opinion of another authority, like "Historical records." (See, last.) I shall refer to the following Prize Essay of Mr. Heye, who will not be suspected of bringing false and wicked charges against the government of India, when it is recollects that, for writing the Essay now about to be quoted, he obtained the appointment of Captain in the East India Company's service. What says the learned Mr. Heye?—

"There are some principles, recognised in almost all Eastern governments, which assist us in forming some idea of that established in India. The first and most fundamental of these, and that which appears best able to account for the prevalence of despotism in the East, is the principle which *acknowledges the sovereign to be the sole proprietor of the soil.*"

Again, on page 102,—

"Accordingly, the legislature of Great Britain, in framing a constitution for its Indian empire, never lost sight of those principles upon which its ancient government had been established."

Then, on page 227,—

"To ascertain how far the system of polity established in British India is calculated to promote the advancement of agriculture, it is necessary to be acquainted with the principles upon which it is founded. These, like almost all the principles that regulate despotic states, are neither very numerous nor complicated, and present not many

difficulties in their investigation. The first and most fundamental, as has already been observed, acknowledges *the sovereign to be the sole and absolute proprietor of the land*. Another recognises no intermediate class, not merely official, between him and the *boni fide* cultivators; in whom, upon condition of paying to the sovereign a certain proportion of the produce, is vested, by a third, the hereditary possessory property of the soil."

So much for the assumption of a right of proprietorship in the soil by the government of British India. [Applause.] But I have not done with J. H. yet. He loves "historical records," and he shall have them: and fortunately I had not to send to London for them; I had not to enter the Portico, or the Athenaeum, or the Chetham Library; I have entered no room but my own, and that a small one, a dull one, and a back one in Lever-street; and, from the books I had with me there, have I derived all the authorities I have selected. When I go beyond the precincts of my own narrow room, then shall I revel in usages and records, proofs, demonstrations, and evidences; and J. H. shall, if he pleases, command me to produce ten times as many more as I produce to-night. Now, what says Mr. Robett Rickards, than whom few men were ever more familiar with the "historical records" and "existing usages of India"? For who was he? He was a gentleman who spent twenty-three years in India; who filled the highest situations under the government there; who returned, and occupied a distinguished place in the commons' house of parliament; and who has given to the world two bulky volumes, as full of "historical records" and ancient "usages" as the most voracious lover of these things, even J. H. himself, could possibly desire. What says Mr. Rickards?

"Our revenue systems in India are founded on the principle adopted into the political practice of our government, that *the sovereign is the proprietor of the soil*, and as

such entitled to one-half the gross produce, or thereabouts."

What says he again?—

"The choice of despotic precedents, the farthest removed from natural justice, has been preferred in our several (revenue) settlements."

And again,—

"On the principle of Mahomedan taxation, one-half of the produce is taken as the ransom of the husbandman's life. The commentary of Jagannatha leaves the whole earth itself to the discretion of the protective conqueror. *The main pillars of the permanent settlement stand on no better grounds than these.*"

And again he says,—

"When the British power supplanted that of the Mahomedans in Bengal, we did not, it is true, adopt the sanguinary part of their creed; but from the impure fountain of their financial system, did we, to our shame, claim the inheritance to a right to seize upon half the gross produce of the land as a tax; and wherever our arms have triumphed, we have invariably proclaimed this savage right; coupling it at the same time with the senseless doctrine of the proprietary right to these lands being also vested in the sovereign, in virtue of the right of conquest."

Such is the evidence of one of the most enlightened and just-minded men that ever adorned the service of the East India Company.

But it might appear to be unjust on my part, or at least a symptom of inability, if I did not notice the authority introduced into J. H.'s letter, for the purpose of showing that my position is wrong. He refers to a recent work of Mr. John Crawfurd's, on the operation of the system of taxation in British India. This is the book [holding up the volume.] Let it be well remembered,

that the ground from which it is sought to remove me is, that the government have *virtually* assumed a proprietary right in the soil—that the state is *de facto* the landlord, and that the amount taken by the rule is *rent* rather than *revenue*. All these points are denied by my opponent; and Mr. Crawfurd is brought forward to support the opposite view—to show that the state does not *de jure* or *de facto*, assume the proprietorship—to show that the cultivators are not disturbed in the enjoyment of “their heaven originated patrimony;” for these latter words do not seem to be altogether agreeable to the gentleman to whom I am now replying.

The passage quoted by J. H. from Mr. Crawfurd's book is as follows:—“Every where there exists in the actual cultivators, or rather in a portion of the cultivators, a perpetual and hereditary right of occupancy.” Here ends the extract in J. H.'s letter. The candid reader would naturally conclude, that this passage comprehended the breadth and scope of Mr. Crawfurd's reasoning on this subject, and that the tenor of Mr. Crawfurd's book supported the view of the matter taken by J. H. Of this, you, sirs, shall judge for yourselves. I now turn to the book, and read—

“Every where there exists in the actual cultivators, or rather in a portion of the cultivators, a perpetual and hereditary right of occupancy.”

Here ends J. H.; but does Mr. Crawfurd end here?—(Hear, hear.) Ay, there's the rub. Is this an entire sentence, or the member of a sentence? or does it contain the pith and substance of any sentence or paragraph? Still more, is it the tenor of the book itself? Is it a fair sample of the view and argument taken and employed by Mr. Crawfurd? Nothing of the kind; there is neither a break for a new paragraph, nor a full stop, nor a colon, nor a semicolon—but a modest little comma. (Applause.) After the comma, Mr. Crawfurd proceeds;—but I must

give you the whole passage again, because you must have its connection :—

"Every where there exists in the actual cultivators, or rather in a portion of the cultivators, a perpetual and hereditary right of occupancy—so long as they continue to pay the share of their produce that an absolute government demands of them."

There's a fee simple for you! (Applause.) An authorised proprietorship! (Hear.) Would any who hear me now call their palaces (for there are such buildings around Manchester,) or their barns, or their factories, or even their pig styes their own, upon such grounds as these? Ay, an "hereditary right of occupancy," but only "so long as they continue to pay the share of their produce that an absolute government demands of them." And this is the opponent that charges me with "mis-statement and perversion of the truth, sufficient to cast a reflection of dubiousness on the whole" of the question I discussed. It has been said, that he "who drives fat oxen must himself be fat." (Applause and laughter.) Now, then, how much is such a right worth? Mr. Crawfurd shall tell you:—

"The value of the right of occupancy, or, in other words, the amount of the rent of the land which the cultivator can secure to himself, depends wholly on the character and position of the rural population of the country, or *the degree of resistance* which it is able to oppose to the exactions of the state."

So that it depends upon the amount of physical resistance to the exactions of the state. There is the tenure, there is the principle upon which they occupy. "Occupy as long as you can; occupy while you are strong enough to resist. Are you the warlike Raj-poot of the mountains? Then we'll take what we can get. But are you the docile and timid inhabitant of the plains of Bengal? Then will we squeeze from you the last grain that

you are able to give, and leave you no more than what is sufficient to hold your body and soul together, until you can grow for us another harvest." (Hear, hear.)

" In Bengal and the adjacent provinces, from the peculiarly timid character of the inhabitants, and the open and exposed nature of the country, this resistance was of the smallest possible amount, and consequently the value of the right of occupancy—[You perceive Mr. Crawfurd only calls it a right of occupancy]—in the peasant was here reduced to little more than *the privilege of laboring for the benefit of others*, on his paternal acres. This also, although not quite to so extreme a degree<sup>1</sup> may be considered the condition of the peasantry of the whole of the great, open, and exposed plain of the Ganges, comprehending more than half the population of all Hindostan."

Then, having shown you, from Mr. Crawfurd, who is *not* the proprietor, but who is the occupier, just so long as he can resist the state—let us see who is the *bona-fide* proprietor. It would not have been very far for J. H. to travel, from page five to page nine, ere he accused a public man, whose all of influence depends upon his character for veracity—[hear]—methinks it would not have been so long a journey for so intellectual a man as J. H. who has stored his memory so carefully with historical records and ancient usages, to have gone forward a few pages, where, without even dipping into the new paragraph, he would have found in the margin—"The sovereign, the effectual proprietor." [Hear, hear.]

" The effectual proprietor of the Indian soil was, of course, the party that received, under whatever name, the greatest part of the rent,—and this was unquestionably the sovereign. In Bengal, the occupant—and there was no material difference in other parts of India—was entitled to a share of the crop proportioned to the amount of labor which he expended in its production. This hardly ever exceeded *two-thirds* of the crop, while of lands in full cul-

tivation, that is, of lands which he and his ancestors had improved by their accumulated labor and capital, in clearing the forest, and in the construction of dykes, water-courses, and other works for facilitating irrigation, he was entitled only to *two-fifths*. The remainder, in both cases, went to the state, after some petty deductions to village officers and subtraction of the tithe already mentioned to the hereditary collector of the land tax. The government, in a word, received, or more correctly speaking, aimed at taking, a land-tax equal to 18s. in the pound of the net rental—that rental itself computed, on an average, at *one-half* the whole produce of the soil. *The state, of course, was therefore, to all intents and purposes, the virtual proprietor* and the share of all other parties was far too trifling to give them a moment's claim to be considered in this light."

Think you, sirs, we have disposed of J. H.? But not for his sake, but for yours, and for the sake of this great cause whose humble advocate I am, I will say something more upon this subject. I now go to another authority. I hold in my hand two volumes, written and published in India, and submitted, paper by paper, as written, to the investigation of all the company's servants in office there. The writer is the Hon. F. J. Shore, brother of the present Lord Teignmouth,—a man whose character stands perhaps as high as the character of any men who ever trod the sunny shores of India. You may go from Calcutta to the extremity of the north-western provinces, and you will every where find deeply hallowed in the hearts of the natives the memory of Frederick John Shore. And I know not that on this side the mighty ocean there have been found any, unless it be of the same class with the gentleman to whose letter I am replying, who have presumed to question the accuracy or the authority of the statements and opinions of Mr. Shore. Now what says he about the proprietary right? Vol. i. page 182.

"It appears to me, that, whatever may be the case *de*

*jure, government is virtually the proprietor of the land in that part of the country in which the permanent settlement does not extend."*

And I have already shown you, that the permanent settlement itself was based upon the most flagitious violation of the rights of the natives ; for actually in one day, by a mere stroke of the pen, the Marquis of Cornwallis erected a class of men, who had been only heretofore collectors of taxes, into the condition of landlords ; for he gave to them, on condition of the payment in perpetuity of a tax, a proprietary right in every rood of the soil. Now what says Mr. Shore as to this proprietary right ?

" It possesses (not by right or justice, but by the assumption of might) the power to assess the revenue at pleasure ; to demand what it pleases from the owners, farmers, cultivators, or whatever they may be denominated often employing for this duty very inexperienced agents, and in default of payment it offers the land at public auction, to realise the sum demanded ; at the same time fixing the assessment on the new occupier at its own valuation, and treating him in the same manner if he fails to pay it ; and as the ultima ratio, when the estate has, from such a mode of treatment, become so deteriorated that neither farmer nor purchaser can be found, the collector is authorised to keep it in his own hands, and make the best he can of it, by renting it in detail to the different subordinate cultivators, or ryots. It is difficult to imagine stronger proofs of ownership than the power to rackrent an estate in this way."

Again, vol. i. page 486 :—

" The next case in point is, the extensive judicial authority bestowed upon the collectors by regulation vii. of 1822, the real object of which regulation, let me again observe, is to reduce the whole country beyond the pale of the perpetual settlement to a ryotwar tenure (see again

No. xviii. of these papers, in which it is explained) *and thereby annihilate the small remnant of landed proprietary right which still exists*; also to search out every foot of land which may be in excess of the recorded extent of the different estates; and to count the fruit trees and cattle of the villagers, in the hope of discovering some additional fund for taxation."

One extract more, from vol. ii. page 245. I hope J. H. is here to take these references down; for these are all "historical records":—

"In the western provinces, *private property in land has yet no existence*. It did exist under the native governments; but among other blessings which the English have bestowed on the Indians, is that of decreasing their cares, *by annihilating their right to the land*. I am not aware that any enactment was ever passed to that effect; we have gone a shorter and more simple way to work; we have merely arrogated to ourselves the right to assess the land at our own valuation, and to sell it by auction when the rent was not paid; and we have rigidly enforced this assumed prerogative. *As long as such a system is in force, it is idle to talk of any private property in land.*" [Hear, hear.]

Now having shown you to what extent we tax the soil of India,—we, the Christian conquerors, the enlightened and benevolent governors of India,—namely, to the taking of one entire half of the gross produce of the soil:—let us see how the Emperor of China taxes his subjects. I have here Mr. Medhurst's interesting book, entitled "China; its State and Prospects; and on the 67th page Mr. Medhurst says,—

"The revenue (in China) is derived principally from the land-tax, which is paid partly in kind and partly in money; it is generally a very light impost, amounting not, as some suppose, to one-tenth, but more usually to one-fiftieth, or one-hundredth of the produce."

Then here is a table showing the proportion which the land-tax bears to the revenue raised in other ways; and then he says,—

"In the report of the Anglo-Chinese College for 1829, there is an estimate of the amount of land-tax paid in different provinces, extracted from the collection of statutes of the Tartar dynasty, by which it appears that the average rate of the land-tax per *mow* (or Chinese acre, somewhat smaller than an English acre,) is from 15 *cash* to 100, or from one penny to sixpence; this, when calculated at its highest value, and multiplied by the number of acres in China under cultivation, will amount to about twelve millions sterling. This statement agrees with the common report of the natives, who affirm that *from one to two per cent.* of the produce is the utmost of what is exacted by government in the shape of land-tax." [Hear, hear.]

You may now contrast the condition of the cultivator in India with that of the cultivator in China, and you may judge who is practically the best landlord; the governor-general at Calcutta, who sways the sceptre of the Great Mogul, or his 'celestial majesty' at Pekin, who is emperor of all China; the Chinese cultivator paying *two per cent.*, according to his own account, and the Indian cultivator paying, according to the account of those who tax him, no less than *forty-five per cent.* of the entire produce of the soil. I shall read J. H. a few verses from this sacred volume now in my hand, the Old Testament, and I will then conclude this part of the subject. Let us go back to the first land-tax, and I think it will not be wholly uninstructive, and I trust not at all unpalatable, to this audience, to listen to a solution of this question, as furnished in the pages of holy writ. (Applause.) Let us turn then to the 41st chapter of the book of Genesis, and beginning at the fifty-fifth verse, we read that,—

"When all the land of Egypt was famished, the people

cried to Pharaoh for bread ; and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph ; and what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth ; and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians ; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn ; because that the famine was so sore in all the lands."

Then in the 47th chapter we read as follows, commencing with the 14th verse :—

" And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought : and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread ; for why should we die in thy presence ? for the money faileth.— And Joseph said, Give your cattle ; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail. And they brought their cattle unto Joseph : and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses : and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year. When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not hide it from my lord, how that our money is spent ; my lord also hath our herds of cattle ; there is not aught left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies and our lands : wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land ? buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh : and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh ; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them ; so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of

Egypt to the other end thereof. Only the land of the priests bought he not : for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them ; wherefore they sold not their lands. Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh : lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones. And they said, Thou hast saved our lives : let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part ; except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's."

The inference from this is so obvious that I shall not attempt to sermonize upon this passage. You can see plainly enough, whether we are acting as christians ought to act, when we depart so widely from the conduct of Pharaoh, who, through Joseph, fed the whole people, saved them from destruction, and then refused to take more than *one-fifth* of their produce. (Applause.)

Having referred to the famine in Egypt, allow me to say one word in reference to the famine in the district of Agra. I have this day been favored with the perusal of some rough and hasty notes made during several conversations with a gentleman of high respectability, who has recently returned from India, after traversing the district desolated by the famine. His descriptions are most affecting. He had passed through the district of Agra during the year 1833. Then the country appeared fertile and flourishing—then the people seemed blessed with contentment, and comparative plenty ; but, on returning through the same region in 1838, he tells us that it seemed smitten with the rod of the Almighty, and that all around wore the symptoms of desolation and death. The

poorer houses were entirely unroofed, the thatches having been given to feed the cattle, which had nevertheless died; so that cattle had disappeared altogether from the land. He says that a few attenuated beings, more like skeletons than living creatures, were seen hovering about amongst the graves of those who had been snatched away by the famine; that desertion was every where visible, and that the silence of death reigned. In one of the villages, he says, an old man from whom they had bought a goat during their former visit, in 1833, was the only survivor of the whole community except his brother's son, whom he was cherishing and endeavoring to keep alive, and these two had subsisted altogether upon the eleemosynary bounty of travellers. The courier of Lord Auckland had informed this gentleman, that, when the governor-general passed through that part of the country, the roads were lined on either side with heaps of dead bodies, and that they had not unfrequently to remove these masses of unburied human beings, ere the governor-general could proceed onward with his suite; and that every day from 2,000 to 3,000 famishing wretches surrounded and followed the carriages, to whom he dealt out a scanty meal; and on one occasion the horse of the courier took fright, and on the cause being ascertained—what was it? It was found to be the lifeless body of a man who had died with his hand in his mouth, from which he had already devoured the fingers. (Great sensation.) And yet we are told that we have nothing to do with India. (Hear, hear.) And yet we are branded as impertinent, as fanatics, as quacks, as legislators self-elected, when we meet as we now do to open the holiest fountains of our hearts, and pour out our tears over myriads of the human family, dying in our own territory. (Loud applause.) Must we be abused? Then come abuse, heaps upon heaps; and let us take it gladly; and when covered most with the filth that the interested and pensioned partisans of a corporation shall throw upon us, let us think this disgrace all glo-

ry, if we may but by our combined exertions snatch a perishing people from the jaws of death. [Loud applause.] He tells us that mothers met them, and offered the fruits of their bodies for a few measures of rice, and that had the government but employed some of the revenue wrung from these poor wretches, to put steamers on the Gauges, corn might have gone from Calcutta to the heart of the districts where the famine raged, in one month. [Hear, hear.]

But there they lived, and famished, and died. Who is there that weeps over their ashes? If we dare to shed a tear, we are told, in this country, that we are meddling with matters that are foreign to us,—matters that are beyond our conception, and equally beyond our reach; and that we ought to be content to leave the business in the hands of those who are appointed the guardians of the empire they profess to rule. I am neighbor to every man that breathes. (Hear, and enthusiastic applause.) No man can annihilate my responsibility. No man can take from my shoulders my own accountableness to the God who made me. (Hear, and applause.) I must judge for myself; I must do what I can, little though it be, knowing that he who gives little will demand little; but that, where he bestows one talent, he will not allow us to bury that talent in the earth, and say to him, "I knew that thou wert an hard master, gathering where thou hadst not strewed, and, therefore, I hid my lord's money in the earth." I say to the men of Manchester, "This is your question. In many lights, and in the most solemn aspects, it is yours. At your peril, let profit, or reputation, or business, or friends, prevent you from becoming the friends of the natives of British India. (Hear, hear.) They are your kinsmen according to the flesh; they are your subjects by citizenship; they are immortal like yourselves; they are disfranchised; and they look to you; their tears are helpless; yours can never be shed in vain. Cherish, then, those tears, and let them flow; and,

like a stream, increase ; and let the nation pour its tears into a common channel, and soon that mighty stream of sympathy and fraternal love shall wash away for ever the institutions which bring about those dire events."— [Several rounds of applause followed this passage, of the effect of which, as delivered, a mere transcript of the words conveys a very inadequate notion.]

Now, sirs, it is a fact worth knowing and keeping, that, during the prevalence of this famine, rice was going every hour out of the country. (Hear, hear.) 230,371 bags, of 164 lbs. each—making 37,780,844 lbs.—were exported from Calcutta. Where ? To the Mauritius, to feed the kidnapped Coolies. Yes ; to feed the men who had been stolen from the banks of the Ganges and the hills adjacent, and dragged from their native shore, under pretence of going to one of the company's villages, to grow in the island of Mauritius what they might have grown in abundance upon their own fertile, but over-taxed land. The total amount of rice exported from Calcutta, during the famine in 1838, was 151,923,696 lbs., besides 13,722,408 lbs. of other edible grains, which would have fed and kept alive all those who perished that year.— Wives might have been saved to their husbands, babes to their mothers, friends to their friends ; villages might still have been peopled ; a sterile land might have been restored to verdure. Freshness and joy, and the voices of gladness, might have been there. Now, all is stillness, and desolation, and death. Yet we are told we have nothing to do with India. (Hear, and applause.)

Sirs, when I touch on this theme, I forget your trade, your commerce, your counting-houses, your profits ; I cannot think of them ; I cannot urge them as reasons why you should take up this cause. I take you from this world ; I see you at the dread judgment-seat ; I call upon you to-night to tell me what answer you will give to Him who will demand of you why you did not succour your brother, if you neglect to afford to him that relief which, as

a nation, you have it in your power to bestow. Sirs, I assure you that I am but on the threshold of the state of things in India. There are many evils of which I have said literally nothing,—nothing of that wicked monopoly of one of the necessities of life, salt,—next to nothing, at least, for I remember that I did refer to it in my first lecture. I have not gone into "the mystery of iniquity." I have said nothing of *opium*. I trust I shall have some opportunity, at a future period, of exposing the whole history of the trade in this foul drug. Is it not strange that the Chinese are teaching us morality? (Hear, and applause.) Is it not strange that the Russians are teaching us to love liberty? (Hear.) The Chinese Emperor says, "Why do you poison the bodies, and demoralize the souls, of my subjects? Why bring this deadly narcotic, by ship-loads, into my river? Why stupify and steal away the senses of those who would otherwise be creditable citizens? Away with you, vile barbarians, and find another market; but venture not to send your most noisome pestilence within the walls of China."—(Hear.) Again, the imperial Nicholas, the liberty-loving autocrat of all the Russias, from the banks of the Baltic, is crying to the natives of India, "If you would find a kind master—if you would tread upon your chains—if you would reap the fruits of your soil—spurn the British lion, and come and *be hugged* by the Russian bear." [The double application of the words marked in *italics* was instantly perceived by the auditory, and the opposite truth of the figure was assented to in a round of applause.] I have said nothing of the treatment of the natives; I have not uplifted the curtain that veils the nameless indignities that are practised upon the natives of India by European functionaries; I have not exhibited the scorn, the contumely, the oppressor's wrong, under which they every day labor and groan. I have said nothing of these things: the time may come when I shall speak of these; but, you will bear me witness, I have

spoken of principles rather than either measures or men. (Hear, hear.) I have asked you to look at principles ; I have labored to keep them before you ; and I know not that the most zealous partizan of Leadenhall-street could have spoken as much as I have done of India, and have said less against the character of those who administer the system in India. (Hear, hear.) Nor do I wish this night to be understood as declaring war against the individuals who compose that company ; far from it. Far be it from me to deny, that the administration of affairs in India is not in all respects as defective as in years that are past, or to say that nothing has been done. Without stopping to inquire by what means ameliorations have taken place, letting the company have all the credit of them, I freely admit that beneficial and important changes have been effected. I refer to them with pleasure, because they prove that the regeneration of India is not an object for which we are forbidden to hope. I refer to the emancipation of the press ; to the abolition of the power of summary deportation ; to the introduction of the native vernacular tongues into the judicial and revenue courts ; to the establishment of a better system for the administration of justice ; and to the repeal of heavy and oppressive transit duties in many parts of the country. These are the main improvements that have been effected ; others are yet in course of prosecution, and I rejoice in the dawning of a better day for India, and will give to those engaged in the work the credit due to them as laborers in a glorious field. But I cannot shut my eyes to what remains to be done, nor will I ever cease to urge upon my countrymen that it is their duty to watch over India, and to interpose for India, till the last Hindoo shall have ceased to call in vain for bread, and every man shall have enough, and every man to spare. (Applause.)

And now will I pause for a few moments. Your friends will test your sympathies by calling upon you for your contributions. You will give what Providence enables

you ; I will give all I have to give; myself. If you will sit at home, "in silken ease," I am willing to bear the burden and heat of the day, if, as your representative, I may tell to other towns what Manchester will do in the cause of India. I may just take this opportunity of remarking, that, since last I had the honor of addressing you, our committee, in London, have received very encouraging letters from British India. Our operations are there exciting the attention which it is natural to expect amongst a people to whom these operations refer ; and I have no doubt that we shall soon number amongst our most efficient and zealous coadjutors many of the distinguished natives of India, and many of the liberal Anglo-Indians of that country. Sirs, you will be glad to learn, that many distinguished men, servants of the company, are amongst our best friends, our warmest supporters in this good cause. (Hear.) And we are exceedingly anxious that those who are connected with India in any way, should come with us in this great work. When time and opportunity are afforded me, I shall make the attempt to show what advantages will accrue to the company as a company, by the accomplishment of our great object, that in all respects they will be benefitted ; that they will rest more securely in their dominion ; that they will administer the affairs of the country with less complexity, and less of every thing disheartening and disagreeable ; and that they will increase to an indefinite extent the revenue which they derive from that empire. All this is as demonstrable as that there is good to be done, as that "honesty is the best policy," as that "godliness is profitable to all things."

I have in my hand also a pamphlet, dated June, 1839, by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, which communicates to you especially (for Manchester is particularly named) some valuable information on the subject of cotton growing. [After a short pause during the collection, Mr. Thompson continued] I am sorry

that time will not permit me to give you a very large portion of the contents of this very interesting and valuable document, which is contained in a report of the proceedings of the Agricultural Society of India, and is entitled "A summary of the success which has attended the efforts of the Society, at introducing the American and other varieties of foreign cotton into India." There are two or three paragraphs so striking, so confirmatory, I am thankful to say, of all I have advanced on this subject, that I am tempted to solicit your attention for a few moments to them. It is not yet late, and perhaps you will bear with me while I take this opportunity of furnishing to you, and, through this meeting, to this district at large, the information which this valuable pamphlet communicates. This document is a letter addressed by Dr. Spry, (of whose authority I have more than once availed myself,) to Wm. Limond, Esq., secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. He says—

"In evidence of the great interest felt by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India on the subject, I am instructed to inform you, that the efforts of the society in the advancement of this great object date their origin so far back as the year 1820, the period of the foundation of the institution. For although the early history of the proceedings of the members do not bear on the face of them any striking record of great attainment in the promotion of cotton cultivation, yet the act of forming themselves into a society attests the fact that the European community of the metropolis of India were convinced of the necessity of doing their utmost to advance this, as well as other important cultures, 'by encouraging the industry of the country.'

"The first distinct measure of operation occurred in the year 1829, when the members adopted the recommendation of their committee, and tendered their declaration, that 'sugar, cotton, coote, silk, and other staples of

commerce, were the objects of the society's *special encouragement.*

"At the close of the same year, (1829) an intimation was received, that the government of Bengal was desirous of co-operating with the society to promote for exportation the production of articles of raw produce of an improved description. On learning this, the society invited the government to adopt immediate means for improving, by the distribution of seeds, plants, useful information and premiums, the condition of the existing staples of the country ;—a suggestion which was at once approved of by the state authorities, who, to ensure the efficiency of the measure, placed at the disposal of the society, the sum of 20,000 rupees, (£2,000) and, in further aid of the society's efforts, an experimental farm was authorised, for which the annual sum of 10,000 rupees, [£1,000] exclusive of rent, was allowed ; and 4,500 rupees for buildings and stock for the first year. A schedule of prizes, of which the annexed is a correct printed copy, was thereon issued to the public ; but before successful competitors could be found for the whole, the agency-house in which the funds were deposited failed, and the money went in the general wreck."

Then follows a schedule of prizes bestowed the first year upon those who produced the best samples of various kinds of foreign cotton raised from seed ; and then they say, referring to the establishment of an experimental farm :—

"The site selected for the farm, which amounted to nearly 500 *beegahs*—(a *beegah* is one-third of an English acre)—was at Akra, a place distant several miles from Calcutta. Active operations commenced on the 14th October, 1830, and were vigorously prosecuted until June, 1833, about which time the lease expired, and the society did not deem it any longer necessary to keep up the establishment, the funds for its support of course ceasing

with its existence. In June, 1830, considerable quantities of Upland Georgia, Sea Island, and Demerara cotton seed, together with a saw-gin for cleaning cotton, all of which had been forwarded from England by the honorable Court of Directors, were made over to the society by the supreme government, as well as some interesting extracts from Captain Basil Hall's Travels, bearing on the mode of cultivating cotton and other American articles. A quantity of cotton seed from the newly acquired territories of the Tenasserim provinces, was also sent by government to the society for distribution."

After mentioning other particulars, they go on to give the result. The seed was distributed, and they soon had reports furnished by those who had undertaken to attend to the growth of this seed :—

"At the August meeting of the society in 1832, the first information was received relative to the result of these trials, and the consequent capabilities of the soil of India, for the production of foreign cotton. One report was from Cuttack, and concerned the growth of Bourbon cotton, which was stated to have length of staple and silky texture; and the interest generally, which at this time appears to have been awakened on the part of the society, may be judged of by the fact, that in the second volume of the Transactions, containing 82 communications, no fewer than 26 are on the subject of cotton alone. Among these are reports by Mr. Willis, a practical cotton merchant, on the produce of Pernambuco seed, grown by Mr. Hastie, near Calcutta, wherein the former gentleman estimates the value of the sample within a penny a pound of the Brazilian grown cotton then in the Liverpool market. The real Pernambuco being 7 1-2d. and the 'Bengal Pernambuco' 6 1-2d. the pound. [Pretty well for the first experiment.]

"From Upper Hindostan, Mr. Huggins states, that the produce of the plants from the American seed was much

more abundant than any of the descriptions of cotton he has seen in the country ; the pods more than double the size ; and the quality of the cotton, of which he sent a sample, he desired should speak for itself.

" From Tavoy, the commissioner writes to the secretary of the society, under date Moulmein, June 5th, 1833, of the Pernambuco seed, sown by him in that province, that it is much valued by the Tavoyers who replanted every seed that could be collected. The people prize it on account of the length of staple, the facility in separating the seed from the cotton, and the advantage it possesses in being a strong and hardy plant, and perennial. At a meeting, on the 18th April, 1833, Mr. James Kyd presented a sample of Sea Island cotton grown on Sangor island, from imported American seed. After careful inspection by the committee, it was pronounced to be the best specimen of the growth of India that had, as yet, been submitted to the society : and the value set on it was from 1s. to 1s. 2d. per lb., which, at the time, was nearly three times the value of the indigenous Bengal cotton.

" While these accounts were coming in from distant places, the society was devoting the greatest attention to the propagation of the foreign seed at its farm at Akra ; and the returns of the year 1832-33, show a produce of *forty-three hundred pounds of cotton wool, and one hundred and twenty-eight pounds of seed.*

" From the fertile arinaceous tracts along the line of the Delhi Canals, the most satisfactory report was received. Major Colvin, to whom the distribution of the Upland Georgia and Sea Island seeds was confided, writes in August, 1834, that the quality of the Upland Georgia sown by him along the line of the Delhi Canal, is infinitely superior to the common country kinds."

This is the answer they give to the question—" Can foreign cottons be grown in India?" I have only had

the opportunity of inspecting the pamphlet for a few moments before entering the meeting.

In September, 1835, Mr. Patrick, superintendent of the Fort Glo'ster Cotton Mills, writes as follows :—" Accompanying are 24 bundles [five pounds each] of twist, spun from the cotton grown at Akra farm, under the superintendence of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society ; also one piece of cloth [10 yards] made from the twist spun and wove by the power-loom ; and one piece [20 yards] made by the native hand-loom. This cotton I have carefully watched through the various stages of cleaning, carding, roving, spinning, &c., and have no hesitation in characterising it as equal to the very best Upland Georgia cotton ; its staple is fully as long, and I would say stronger and better adapted for mule spinning than any I have imported direct from America. (Hear, hear.)

" My own opinion with regard to the cultivation of Upland Georgia cotton in India, judging from what I have seen of it when tried under great disadvantages, is, that, if judiciously prosecuted, it would ultimately be crowned with the fullest success."

Then again,—

" On 16th October, 1836, Captain Dixon, alluding to the foreign cotton seed in his neighborhood, writes that the cotton is of a very superior quality, and, compared with the country kind, it is as *silk to wool*." (Hear, hear.)

" About this time, intelligence was received of an interesting kind from the political agent at Loodiana, stating that there was a great desire expressed by the people of the Punjaub to be supplied with *foreign cotton* seed ; and that, in reference to seed formerly sent to him, the cotton appeared to thrive better than the indigenous kind, which was not very generally cultivated. At Ferozepore, now the new military station, he saw several plants of the American cotton growing there luxuriantly

in a garden ; and, on inquiry, it was found that the seeds had been introduced by a gardener, from the banks of the Jumna, who had procured them, it was supposed, from seed sent by Colonel Dunlop."

Then again,—

" Of the success of Egyptian cotton seed, sown at Nun-nore, Shahabad, in the province of Behar, we have the testimony of Mr. Geo. Leyburn, who is settled there as a planter. The communication made by this gentleman to the society was read at the meeting on the 9th August, 1837 ; and it stated, that the seed was sown at the commencement of the rains—July—of the previous year, in a good loamy soil, flowered partially in October, and gave some small produce in December and January ; in March it flowered, and gave produce till the end of May ; the plants were most luxuriant, and from four to six feet in height. The produce from about 200 plants was upwards of nine factory seers of cotton, and seventeen seers of cleaned seed. Mr. Leyburn forwarded this cotton to the society, and mentioned that, besides its superiority in staple, the plants of the Egyptian cotton yield much more cotton in proportion to the seed than the indigenous plants."

Finally,—

" Two considerations result from the perusal of this summary :—

" *Firstly*, The amount of practical benefit which has attended the unremitting labors of the society for the last ten years, in importing and distributing foreign cotton seed—the changes, if any, which acclimation has wrought on seed reproduced in India—the condition of the experiments made at the farm of the society at Akra :—and

" *Secondly*, That which concerns the future—the measures which are best calculated to promote the growth of the finer cottons—the provinces of the empire into which the culture can be introduced with the best chance of

success—and the means which the society possess for prosecuting this great national work with efficiency.

"The utility arising from the society's efforts has been the accumulation of a mass of practical information, small in substance singly, but important and convincing collectively, as showing that—with the disadvantages of ignorance as to soils, the best seasons of planting, and the observance of strict rules of cotton husbandry occasion—the conviction comes home forcibly to the mind, that the Indian soil is, to an unlimited extent, in different provinces, adequate to the growth of cottons that would command a position, in commercial value, far superior to that which the inferior annual of the country is now doing. The fact recorded in the foregoing summary, in more than one instance, of seed producing *a better stapled article the second year* than the first, and the great practical support this truth derives from the communication of Mr. Ewart in Guzerat, must at once still every fear as to the cottons of America, if introduced into this country and treated with proper care, after the lapse of time, degenerating in quality. It has been seen, that the first year's produce is rarely, if ever, worth much; whereas the second and third years are the periods for profitable returns. The condition of the experiments made at the farm of the society at Akra are confirmatory of these views. The official report of the home government shows plainly the society's cotton to have fetched a much higher price than that of the indigenous kind. The site, however, of this garden or farm was in the midst of the swamps of the Soonderbunds—a situation by no means the best for testing the efficiency of Indian soils for the cotton culture; and besides, when taken in hand by the society, was held by it only for three years. With regard to the measures best calculated to promote the growth of the finer cottons, a difference in opinion may probably exist."

They thus conclude :—

"Out of all the varieties of seed which have been

sown, there is no reason for believing that any of those precautions so rigidly observed in attaining a fine produce, by picking and choosing the finer seeds before sowing, has ever been pursued by experimentalists in India; but, too glad to obtain the foreign seed in any shape, they have indiscriminately thrown the whole into the ground, and, to facilitate and nurture the rising plant, have both watered and shaded it. Taking the experience of the west, and those smaller spots celebrated for cotton cultivation, as well as what the result of the past has furnished as a guide, it may be assumed, that the Upland Georgia and Egyptian is the seed best calculated for introduction into the interior and upland parts of India; while the Pernambuco, Peruvian, Seychelles, Bourbon, and Sea Island, may suit best along the line of coast. Another circumstance not less important than the foregoing, in forming an estimate of the capabilities of the Indian soil, must also be attended to, and that is, the poverty of the working farmer in this country, which is such that, to procure food for himself and family, and at the same time to meet the calls of the landlord and government collector, he is compelled to force the powers of his soil to the utmost extent, and, as is well known to those who have resided in the provinces, to re-sow in the harvest-land of March seed that will ripen in October; or, as we have seen recorded in the body of this summary, three different kinds of seed at once, the whole of which ripens irregularly, leaving the longest, which is usually either a cotton or sugar cane, to ripen last, amidst the wretchedness of an impoverished soil—a system which, if destructive to the proper development of the pods of the common annual herbaceous cotton plant of the country, must be immeasurably so to the success of the foreign perennial trees of which we seek the introduction.

"To define the provinces into which the culture can be introduced with the best chance of success, would be, in Hindostan, to enumerate parts of Behar, the Doab,

especially the banks of the Jumna, and the line of country through which the Delhi and Dooab Canals run ; Rohilkund, Bundelkund, and the rich and fertile valley of the Nerbudda. Of the Western Provinces of the empire we have Guzerat,—the seaports of which, Surat and Boraoch, have been celebrated as cotton ports from the time of Arrian downwards ; the line of country extending along the Western Ghats to the Carnatic, where some of the finest cotton, as at Salem and Tinnivelly, which India has ever produced, has been grown.

"The last consideration, and one of vital importance, is the means which the society possesses for prosecuting this national work with efficiency. The least attention to the economy of a single institution, such as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, although consisting of five hundred persons, the largest ever associated in a body in India, is sufficient to show its total incompetency to embark on that enlarged and workmanlike style of labor which shall at once develope the fitness of India to supply the cotton markets of the world, and render the mother country independent of her foreign supply. (Applause.) The offer of a fitting bounty, either by reducing the assessment on lands on which foreign cotton seed is grown, or by stimulating industry by larger grants as prizes, properly belongs to the state, whose revenues would be proportionably enhanced by such an enterprise, or to a body of capitalists anxious to reap a rich harvest of gain by so promising a speculation. All that the society can do is, to the utmost extent in its power, to give its funds gratuitously to the support of this national culture, by continuing to introduce seed, and urge by every means at its disposal the adoption of the measure, the success of which, if pursued on a large and persistent scale, and such only does the magnitude of the stake merit, must lead to a successful and lasting issue.'

I am exceedingly grateful for the attention you have kindly given to these extracts. I have not read them

more for your benefit than for the benefit of others who are not in this house to-night, by whom they will be read with interest. The pamphlet I have been permitted to use through the courtesy of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce; it is doubtless the only copy in Manchester; therefore I could not withhold long extracts when I knew the question of cotton-growing in India was one of so vital importance to the interests of this town. (Applause.) You see we ought to get cotton from India.—Every report and statement assures you, that India might supply the world with cotton. There are no contradictory statements here. Every thing is confirmatory.—Why, then, do we not get cotton from India? I have a letter in my hand which forms an appendix to the report, and what the report does not tell you this letter shall.—Why do you not get your cotton from India? Hear what the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal writes to the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in your own town of Manchester. Notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, its ability to produce every variety of cotton, its willingness to cherish foreign seed, and to give you as good a crop of American, of Pernambuco, of Egyptian, and of Peruvian cotton, as you can obtain indigenously,—the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal, says in this letter,—

*"Under the existing system of government land revenue, the chamber is inclined to despair of India's being able to compete with America, and to supply England with cotton to any great extent. An abatement of the tax or rent on cotton lands, the chamber sees no present prospect of government being prevailed on to accord."*

There is the reason. (Hear, hear.) The reason is not in the soil, not in the people, not in the seed, not in the climate; it is in the government, and they are unwittingly crushing industry; taking the mainspring to exertion out of every peasant in the country; for there is

no regulating, no stimulating principle whatever. The collector comes, and takes all he can get; and the cultivator ploughs, he sows, he harrows, he waters, he reaps, he picks, he cleans, he packs, *for another*; and who works very diligently when he does that?

Here, then, is something for a British India Society to do,—to press strongly upon the friends of India the necessity of taking away this grand, this master evil, as I will still call it. And the British philanthropist may be summoned to do this. It is not the interest which men have in this question which will be sufficient of itself to accomplish this great object. There must be British capital; there must be life from this country sent to that; but the revenue system must be amended, and that I believe can only be effected by the union of all classes and interests in this philanthropic object,—sustained by the desire to do good to British India, to benefit the circumstances and the soul of the Indian. Where the man of trade tarries, where he halts, where he stands still, the man of humanity goes on. Where the one attains his object, or turns aside from it, disheartened, the other still pursues his, laughs at impediments, and cries, “it shall be done.” (Applause.)

Now, it is the object of the British India Society to get the removal of these grand hindrances to the prosperity of India; and we do that with an ulterior object in view,—the bettering the condition of our fellow-subjects, the natives of that country.

The means we shall adopt to advance our object are such as may be most candidly stated. We have nothing to conceal; nothing about which we shall for a moment equivocate. We shall diffuse information by means of lectures, essays, the reprint of compendious works, and, as soon as possible, by the issuing of a periodical publication. We shall endeavor to demonstrate, to the entire conviction of our fellow-countrymen, that the grandest sphere which the world presents for the employment of

British capital is British India, in her agricultural capacity. We shall labor to keep prominently before the public mind, at the same time, the benevolent object of our society, and to guard with the utmost care against the introduction of any distracting or adulterating principles. We shall vindicate the right of the cultivator—assert his title to be treated with respect, to be admitted to a share in the management of his own public affairs, and to have his ancient native institutions recognised and regarded. We shall fearlessly animadvert upon the character of the government, awarding credit where credit is due, and rejoicing in the first appearance of a disposition to relax the rigor of British rule in India. (Applause.) We shall deem it a solemn duty to bring into notice whatever systems and regulations we deem injurious to the people of India, and derogatory to the dignity, honor, and usefulness of the British name. And the utterance of that word "regulations," reminds me that I have with me at this moment a number of regulations at which, as Britons, we well may blush. What is one of them? Sirs, we meet here, none daring to make us afraid. Does any grievance afflict us, or any imaginary wrongs affect us, or any monopoly assail our commercial interests, or do we think that our liberties are yet too circumscribed? Halls, chapels, open areas, market places, exchanges, squares, are open to us, are hallowed ground, on which the foot of freedom loves to tread; and every hill around your own great town may give you back the echo of your voice, when you uplift it in the cause of freedom; and you may set at defiance, while peacefully and legally assembled, all efforts to scatter you, or to stifle the voice that is uttered on behalf of the great principles of truth and justice. And hence we get that which we seek, when we ask for that which is just, right, and reasonable. We get it when we deserve it; that is, when we ask it with one heart and one mind. (Applause.) But may the people of India assemble? No. The privilege of

telling one another their woes is denied them. Hear a regulation sent forth at Fort St. George, Madras, in 1831:

" Persons twelve or more in number, assembling for riotous or rebellious purposes, or for the purpose of interfering with or obstructing the collection of the revenue, and refusing to disperse when called upon to do so by the local authorities, or re-assembling after having dispersed, shall be liable to be tried by the court of circuit, and on conviction shall be sentenced to imprisonment, for a period not less than three nor exceeding ten years."

Oh, if you knew why that was framed, and what would be regarded as an infraction of that regulation, you would not want me tell you what kind of government it was under which the people live where that regulation is in force. They cannot tell their wrongs; they are forbidden. They go from the thankless field to the miserable hut, and return again in the morning to toil, and retire again at eve; and unless—as even the worm will turn again—suffering and oppression become intolerable, and ruffle even the spirit of the mild and docile Hindoo, he bears his wrongs till death, and dies yet unavenged.—(Hear, hear.) Now, I say, we shall deem it our duty to denounce and expose such regulations. Again, the attention and feelings which may be awakened we shall seek to direct into the best and most influential channels. The constituted authorities will not be overlooked in our endeavors to do good to India: they will be reminded of their responsibility—they will be urged to the performance of their duty—they will be given to understand, that our full determination is to carry to parliament, as the final court of appeals, the cause of the injured native of India; and that while that cause shall never be sullied by calumny, vituperation, or causeless complaint, so neither shall it be disgraced by sycophancy, subserviency, or a timid submission to the unreasonable demands of any corporation, however ancient, however powerful, or how-

ever upheld by the smiles and co-operation of the state. (Great applause.) We know, sirs, that there are many causes predisposing our countrymen to look with interest and expectation to our possessions in the East. Within the last few days, since our last assembling here, we have received the intelligence of a victory which has brought under our immediate influence a large additional territory—the position in which we stand to several nations on our eastern and south-eastern border—the state of our affairs with China—the late desolating famine—the desire for a more abundant and cheap supply of cotton wool—the growing necessity for new outlets for our manufactures, and the spirit of inquiry and discussion which has appeared in the court of proprietors—these and other circumstances operate to produce a general feeling of interest in the condition and prospects of India. These circumstances will affect the minds of multitudes, while many more will regard with intense interest recent changes and events as connected with the social and moral improvement of the immense population of an empire thus mysteriously committed to our government and to our care. I might refer, too, to other and still nobler enterprises and plans respecting India; but these are often dwelt upon, and dwelt upon more ably and eloquently than I can hope to do. I do not, therefore, refer to the great and magnificent plans for the spiritual enlightenment of that country. I deem it sufficient to say, that all these stand intimately connected with the onward progress and final consummation of our highest and purest hopes and aspirations respecting the inhabitants of Asia. Now, upon the principles I have maintained, by the measures I have explicitly stated, for the objects I have set before you in now six lectures, we intend to pursue the work upon which we have entered. "Onward!" shall be our motto. The spirit that never tired, that never quailed, while pursuing the great object of negro emancipation, has been invoked, has been awakened, is

now stirring ; and what we did for the slave of the West shall be done for the Hindoo of the East. (Applause.) Our motives may be assailed ; they are assailed, and they will be again ; but we will vindicate our intentions by the consistency of our conduct and the meekness of our temper, rather than by the boldness and the loudness of our protestations. And, finally, our hope is in the British people, in the religious and moral feelings of this nation, and in the God that rules the destinies of the world. We know He ever lives. Thrones may totter and fall ; princes and peers may flourish and may fade ; tyrants may exult in the attainment of their wicked objects for an hour ; but He who lives, the King of Nations, laughs to scorn the confederacies of mankind, and works out his own great ends, causing every thing to conspire to the accomplishment of that which is the greatest and best end of government. (Applause.) And, sirs, if we are co-workers with Him, the accomplishment of our object is sure ; and all other things shall work together for our good. It is comforting to know, that, however weak, however few, however despised, however obscure, however uninfluential,—if we have laid hold of a right principle, we shall yet triumph. And though that principle may be by many unseen, by many more condemned, and, when proclaimed, may bring upon those who first uttered the great truth, the charge of being visionaries and disturbers ; yet, when that truth is spoken out, the opposition it created at first shall subside, and like the mountain, hurled into the ocean, shall find there a basis, and, lifting its head to heaven, be a beacon and a blessing to the world. (Applause.)

Now, sirs, I have but to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me through six long evenings. I have never come to this house but with a fainting spirit, having no confidence that the ability with which I was able to treat the subject would fix the attention of so large a number of auditors. The number, I

am glad, has not fallen off; and you have shown to-night that the interest is not diminished. I now leave the cause with those who are around me. The British India Society has taken its stand. There are a few who, however they may be affected by vicissitudes and changes, will still continue to advocate the cause: and for myself my prayer is :

O thou, enthroned in filial right,  
 Above all creature-power and might,  
 Whose kingdom shall extend—  
 Till earth like heaven thy name shall fill,  
 And men like angels do thy will!—  
 The spirit of liberty impart,  
 Enlarge my soul, inflame my heart,  
 Shine on my path in mercy shine,  
 Prosper my work and make it thine!

As the lecturer resumed his seat, having spoken upwards of two hours, he was greeted by his auditory with numerous rounds of applause, which did not cease for some minutes to echo through the spacious building.

[Mr. Alderman Callender was then called to the chair, and the following vote of thanks to Mr. Thompson was most enthusiastically passed by the meeting :—

“ That the grateful and cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Geo. Thompson, Esq. for the lucid explanations which he has given to the inhabitants of this town on this and five previous evenings, of the present state of the British possessions in the East Indies.”—  
 [Great applause.]

FINIS.